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ABSTRACT

Social studies textbooks need careful inspection with regard to how they treat ethnicity. Although there have been several studies of possible bias in textbooks, there are methodological concerns that need further deliberation. Content analysis has been called a "technique for systematic inference from communications," and it may be viewed as a stable bridge connecting the chasm between qualitative and quantitative methods of research and evaluation. A systematic and comprehensive study of 320 social studies textbooks from the elementary, junior high school, and senior high school levels was undertaken. One of the first questions raised was the degree to which the textbooks covered material relevant to particular ethnic groups with the focus of coverage being Italian Americans. An observation that emerged from the content analysis involved the variations among the textbooks with regard to their ethnic philosophy. One philosophy treated the nation as a "melting pot" whereas the other treated the United States as a "salad bowl." What is clear is that textbook publishers must assume the responsibility of providing empirical evidence for the content-validity of the books they publish, or eventually face a problem of credibility. (BZ)

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ETHNICITY IN THE CURRICULUM: THE TEXTBOOK IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

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CHAPTER I

Public school years are highly formative in the development of cognitive skills, as well as of social, personal, and ethnic identities, values, and attitudes. The cast of contributors to educating the youth is very extensive; it includes not only the parents, peers, and teachers who have daily contact with the child, but educational policy-makers, government officials involved in establishing curricular guidelines, local school boards, education professors and researchers, publishers of instructional materials and authors of textbooks. Each member of this cast acts as a transmitter of some kind of knowledge, some relative truth, some principle which may be valued by either the society at large, or a subgroup, or a given individual. The curriculum may be thought of as the play which unfolds on the stage we call school.

In such a pluralistic society as we have, the child is necessarily exposed to diverse, and sometimes contradictory, sets of transmissions. In the opinion of some educators, or parents, the multiplicity of contradictory viewpoints may confuse the child. Those responsible for educational policy at national, state, or local levels, seek to provide for the actors in the cast a set of commonly shared rules and objectives as producers and directors of a play might. Although the actors all have freedom to improvise, the written text as subject-matter is there to be read and learned as the minimum requirement to be accepted by all.

The text, then, becomes the sole embodiment of those facts, principles, and values which define the common curriculum for all actors as they take part in educating the youth. It provides the security of stability and consistency in the midst of the diversity and contradictions brought to the stage by each actor, and each youngster. For some the text is the WORD, and the medium is the MESSAGE. For others, the text is a necessary evil one must contend with and criticize, but cannot do without.

Until early twentieth century, the idea of having the text provide the commonly shared curriculum proved useful and workable; and it still may, provided it represents an agreed upon classical and traditional orientation. The real problems arise, however, under two conditions: (a) when there are numerous texts which do not agree with one another, and reflect, instead, the diversities and contradictions characteristic of the actors; or (b) when a strong desire for uniformity results in sacrificing controversial truths to selection of neutrally stated facts, creating unintended distortions that offend no one but express platitudes of no particular consequence.

The problems are somewhat less pronounced in mathematics and the physical sciences (despite the controversy between the creationists and the evolutionists) than in the social sciences. The subject matter of social sciences itself deals with diverse values, ethnicities, identities, social and personal comparisons and interpretations. In the physical sciences even the oppositions are clearly defined. Social sciences, on the other hand, reflect more of the societal uncertainties concerning what it is we want our children to learn. The controversy may be expressed in the argument over which text to use for 'good' instruction. Although the focus may be on the textbook, the real disagreement often concerns which objectives our curricula should try to achieve.

The proliferation of social objectives stemming from an ethnically and culturally pluralistic society may well have resulted in an uncertainty as to what may constitute the shared set of societal objectives to be presented in a social studies text. One group's mores may conflict with those of another. The anecdotes used to develop ethnic identity in one group may be viewed as prejudicial by another. How then is the textbook to treat ethnicity in the context of social studies? What may be the consequences of presenting a bland and neutral subject-matter that serves no one's purpose? What is the relationship between a given subculture and the broader society made up of the various diverse cultures? Does the text treat a given group more favorably while ignoring another? Why do various cultural, ethnic or racial subgroups often find the textbooks prejudicial to themselves but favorable to others? Answers to these questions are not readily available. To find the answers may require an examination that delves deep into the educational objectives served by the text, as well as into the implicit and explicit messages communicated by the text content.

Assuming that the text is still to provide the educational actors on the stage with at least a skeletal scenario, and given the claims of uncertainty reflected in the available social studies texts, a number of issues need urgent attention. First the statement of educational objectives for a social studies curriculum needs to deal with the social uncertainties where they exist rather than pretend to represent commonly shared values in a pluralistic society. Perhaps objectives need to be restated to include a consideration of the relationship between the mores of the subgroups and those of the larger national entity. Although the cognitive and affective objectives typically expressed in various curricula are perfectly acceptable, those of social studies may need further review in the context of social and ethnic identity.

Currently, expressed educational objectives seem to have focused mainly on the individual learner,his/her place in the society, and his/her ability to cope with the social environment. There is a question, however, as to whether the school merely prepares the individual consistent with existing needs of the society or whether it becomes an instrument of social change. If the latter is a function of the school, then the educational objectives which focus on the individual within the society without making explicit those changes needed in the society may be considered incomplete. Cremin (1964), for example, discussed social reform through education at some length. Undoubtedly the most relevant curricular discipline to such a function of education would be social studies. The question of whether social studies texts are simply to report facts concerning various cultures and ethnicities, or are to inculcate existing societal values, or are to lead to societal reforms needs to be considered in light of the educational objectives. Questions of social assimilation, coexistence, or cumulative reconstruction need to be debated as to the possible impact of each on the individual as well as on the society.

Second, social studies textbooks need careful inspection with regard to how they treat ethnicity and the functioning of different ethnic or minority groups in the context of the broader national entity. What are some of the stated and unstated positions and social philosophies reflected in their treatment of ethnicity? Although there have been several studies of possible bias in textbooks (...), there are methodological concerns that need further deliberation. The notion of a systematic analysis of textbooks is still relatively novel and its use limited mostly to researchers. Neither publishers nor those responsible for selecting texts conduct such analyses prior to

adopting the books for schoolwide use. The lists of acceptable textbooks for purposes of adoption or use by teachers certainly do not reflect or report any systematic analysis. The processes of textbook publishing and textbook selection would surely benefit from the application of scientifically sound methods of content analysis. The method can help examine not only the degree to which the content of the book is designed to meet the educational objectives; it can also be used to unearth implied social and educational values which have not been made explicit. The method of conducting such an examination needs to be subjected to canons of scientific verification, in terms of reliability, validity, and replicability.

Third, we live in a pluralistic society which, at least at this moment in history, values individual freedom and choice with regard to ethnicity, social values, and personal identity. We also live in a society which considers itself a national entity with shared interdependence and laws based on rational propositions and empirically verifiable truths. Although we may agree on the broad definition of education as it focuses on the individual learner, we may or may not agree on the nature of the social context in which the individual is expected to live. Perhaps such disagreement is also a part of our current society. The implications of such a society for the individual learner and for the curriculum must be clearly examined before sound policy can be established concerning the use of texts in social studies education.

The philosophic position taken here focuses on the individual learner in the context of a complex and pluralistic society with a concern for the development and constructive advancement of both and not one at the expense of the other. The textbook represents a curriculum expressing commonly shared societal values and objectives with some impact on the child. It is too important a component of the educational process to be used without subjecting it to systematic examination. Some of the issues concerning the functions to be served by the social studies curriculum as it impacts on the individual and on the society are discussed in the rest of this chapter.

We have established standards for evaluating and certifying educational personnel who constitute a component of the educational process, but do not seem to show the same concern for the instructional materials that also constitute a major component of the same process. The position taken here models one systematic approach to the examination of texts through content analysis. In chapters two and three the method and the findings concerning the treatment of ethnicity in social studies texts are elaborated in detail. The method is presented as a rigourous and sytematic way of analyzing textbooks for a variety of purposes although the model here is applied to one characteristic of the textbooks and is limited to the treatment of one ethnic group, namely Italian-Americans.

The particular educational philosophy and the demand for the systematic assessment of all components of the educational process have many implications. Some of the implications concern textbook publishers, educational practice and policy, and others concern social policy. The last two chapters of this book are intended to elaborate on the social and educational policy implications of the philosophy, of the method, and of the findings.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND THE FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA

OBJECTIVES

Few would disagree with the broad statement that education today is a

process which aims to enhance the personal, social, and intellectual development of each individual and to enable the individual to cope constructively with problems in a changing world. All members in the cast of characters comprising the educational production are percieved as striving to achieve the educational aims by transmitting knowledge and cognitive, personal, and social skills. Yet disagreements are likely to arise when the broad aims are translated into the specific objectives of various curricula for each child.

An inquiry into how social studies texts treat the issue of ethnicity must begin with an analysis of the specific curricular objectives. Such an analysis must take into account the degree to which expressed educational objectives are coherent with general societal values. The fifties witnessed a movement which sought to formulate and express educational objectives in very specific behavioral terms and the seventies witnessed its slow death. Yet, the movement left its mark on the development of curricular guides and instructional materials. Perhaps the most influential of the works in specifying educational objectives was the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Bloom, et.al, 1956, and Krathwohl, et.al., 1964) which identified categories of cognitive and affective domains and defined the objectives in each. Although much of this work has been criticized, many of its useful elements and much of its relevance is still detected today in statements of educational objectives that appear in the Teachers Guides to various curricula. It also had a heuristic impact in stimulating attention to further formulations as in the use of metacognitive objectives in curricular development (.....), in examining moral education (....), and in the development of teacher training programs (Kaya,1961 and 1969, Kaya and Woog, 1971; Popham, 1972). Aspects of it have been used in providing a rationale for bilingual education (Lau decision,.....), as well as for multicultural and multiethnic education programs (.....).

The taxonomic organization of the cognitive and affective domains is undoubtedly to be accepted as relevant to most curricula, including social studies. It is undoubtedly very important to develop in the individual those cognitive and affective skills which are the objectives of all educational endeavor. A close look at social studies curricula, however, suggests an additional concern with society and social change and a need to relate the objectives which focus on the individual to the social functions that may be served by the curriculum. Educational objectives stated in the existing taxonomic organization, or even in some modified versions of it which are currently available, focus on the desired behaviors of the individual learner not on the desired changes in the society within which the learner lives. As a result a distinction is needed between the objectives which focus only on the desired behaviors of the individual learner, and the functions served by the curriculum which involve the broader social values.

FUNCTIONS

There are aspects to society that need stability and continuation, other aspects that may need change. Historically, the role of education has been both to preserve the values of the society and to be instrumental in bringing about desired social change. The American school is typically the place where this society's democratic ideals are transmitted from generation to generation. At the same time,in nineteenth century United States, for example, the schools played a major role in bringing about the social changes indicated by the society's desire first to industrialize, and later to 'Americanize' the new wave of immigrants (For an extended discussion of the school's role in

these efforts see Cremin, 1964). The school, then, is one instrument of society to both maintain its desired traditions and to bring about the desired social changes. By extension, the social studies curriculum has similar social functions at the same time as it strives to achieve the educational objectives directed to the individual. Although textbooks are often explicit about the objectives, and about some of the social values to be inculcated, there are many times when the functions of the social studies curriculum remain unspecified, imperfectly understood, or recondite.

The functions of the social studies curriculum are distinguished from the objectives in order to clarify two concerns: (a) to make explicit the differences in the desired effect of the curriculum on the society and on the individual, and (b) to articulate at least some of the functions that may go unnoticed and to make explicit how these are interwoven with the individually targeted statements of objectives. A distinction is made between two functions of the social studies curricula which seem to be particularly relevant to these concerns. These two functions are designated as descriptive and prescriptive.

The descriptive function is the scientifically motivated and relates empirically determined facts, 'true' events, and principles as well as those attitudes objectively agreed to exist and those empirically verifiable relations among peoples, cultures, nations or communities. The prescriptive function is traditionally motivated and inculcates the social and cultural mores of the given society. In achieving the prescriptive objective the described information is implicitly or explicitly evaluated as being appropriate or acceptable to the society we live in. The intent of the prescriptive function is not to inform; it is to shape desired cognitive and affective behavior and to induce the learner to internalize desired societal values.

Through the descriptive function, the curriculum serves to avail to the individual knowledge of what is, including contradictory or seemingly conflicting facts, principles, and phenomena, without any evaluation of their desirability in the society. The facts are presented as existing independent of their evaluastion. The evaluation of the facts presented is left to the individual, and the responsibility for such assessment may further the individual's cognitive growth in conducting rational evaluations, serving a cognitive objective. At the same time, the curriculum also models the scientific processes leading to the cognitive objectives of inquiry, objective acquisition of knowledge, systematic consideration of existing alternatives and hypotheses.

Through the prescriptive function the curriculum inculcates the child with the socially desired values, and implicitly or explicitly identifies for the learner those facts, principles and phenomena that are deemed desirable and appropriate for this society. The responsibility of the assessment is not left to the individual, it is assumed by the curriculum. It is perhaps through the selection and assessment of social values represented in the text that the curriculum serves to prescribe both the social stability and desired social change. For example, the text may point out the 'contributions' of a subgroup, such as women or Italian-Americans, in the fight for democracy, making explicit the value of democracy, but communicating through implication that these subgroups also share the same societal value. To the extent the child may identifiy with the given subgroup, the child is also assumed to hold the same value. Cognitively, the child is called upon to learn that democracy is valued in this society, and affectively, he/she is called upon to internalize that value to a point of willingness to fight for it.

****[The distinction between the descriptive and prescriptive functions of educational objectives is one which we believe to be heuristic for understanding the functions of statements in social studies texts. It enables the analyst --and the text-book writer as well as others in the educational cast of characters-- to keep track of what is being sought and what may be happening or accomplished in the educational process despite intentions.

In the elaboration which follows, the descriptive and prescriptive functions are described independently. Yet the same element of subject matter can be made to serve each function simultaneously. It is the task of the content-analyst to design categories and procedures of analysis to determine how each function may be served by the same surricular passage presented in text.

Descriptive function.

The descriptivist aspect of the social studies curriculum seems to emanate from the basic -- and reasonable -- impulse of humans to know the truth about themselves. It manifests itself in curriculum or textbook preparation both in a concern for providing veridical accounts of events, biographies, and social conditions and in a concern for developing methods of inquiry, observation and validation. The concern for accurate accounts of one's own or of alien societies reaches back, of course, to antiquity. The desire to provide truthful accounts may be observed in Xenophon's attempt to describe the peoples conquered by Alexander's legions, in Josephus' description of the Roman wars in the Eastern Mediterranean, or even in accounts of Cathay which Marco Polo swore to be true.

The precursors of the concern for descriptivist inquiry methods which are to be found in recent social science curricula seem to have been of later origin. The evolution of self-conscious academic social sciences followed slowly upon the early formulations of rigorous principles of inquiry in the natural sciences and upon the British, French, and American revolutionary social theorization of the end of the eighteenth century. Only in the last half of the nineteenth century, anthropology sought to eschew 'ethnocentricity,' psychology sought to base itself upon observation and experiment, economic and social theorists considered validating their formulations against verifiable predictions and philology struggled self-consciously to establish itself as the more modern science of 'descriptive linguistics.'

The descriptive function seems to stem from an implicit assumption made by social studies textbook writers that 'reality testing' (the process which modern psychiatry sees as the basis of human sanity) is the SINE QUA NON for responsible citizens in modern, free, democratic societies. It is underlined by the presence in the list of civic educational objectives of certain additional items such as 'identifying [an] author's [or] speaker's purpose,' 'evaluating the relevance of information,' 'making or withholding judgement,' and, perhaps most significantly, 'recognizing propaganda.' The relationship between the descriptive function and the objectives of social studies curricula may be found in such statements of objectives as: 'developing objectivity,' 'developing skills in collecting and classifying data and in comparing and contrasting data,' 'evaluating the relevance of information,' 'developing skills in problem identification and in generalizing,' etc. {1}

{1} The phrasings of program objectives quoted here are taken from the social

studies series: The World and Its People, published by Silver-Burdett, Morristown Jersey, 1982. For our purposes, the items selected may be considered to be fairly typical of social studies curricula used in the majority of schools in the United States.

The descriptive function of curricula may manifest itself in social studies texts in three different ways. First is in presenting factual accounts. In social studies texts such accounts will seek to be accurate or consistent with the available raw data or primary sources. The account will also attempt to be complete or comprised of all the available evidence. When completeness is not feasible, a balanced account will be presented, that is one comprised of unbiased samples of the available evidence. In other words, descriptivism in respect to accounts yields the everyday virtues of good journalism, legal testimony, historography etc. And if thoughtful purists have agonnized over the achieivability of these ideals, they have in the process helped in the formulation of ever refined methods for achieving them.

The second way descriptivism can manifest itself is in leading the learner through some steps in methods of inquiry. The student may be called upon to generate accurate, complete, and balanced accounts of events and phenomena. When a text concerns itself explicitly with issues such as hypothesis testing, testing the reliability of measures and data, testing the validity of concepts and measures, or unbiased sampling it unequivocally evinces a concern for developing descriptivism in respect to methods of inquiry and, at least indirectly, in respect to cognitive processes. Such activities are presumed to lead to the achievement of cognitive objectives in Bloom's Taxonomy. Although exercises required in textbooks may seek to teach the methods of inquiry, the acquisition of the skills need close monitoring by the educator.

Finally a concern for descriptivism may manifest itself in respect to developing skills in rationally coming to grips with affect, motivation, values and the like as actual phenomena which may play a role in determining the behavior of individuals and groups of human beings including one's self and one's own reference groups; cognitive skills which are concerned with the dispassionate analysis of passion. These are the skills which enable us to distinguish wishes and prejudices from fact; to distinguish what is from what ought to be. Were a text to follow a lesson on the methods and principles of descriptive inquiry in the social sciences with another lesson calling for the application of such methods to analyze the nature of a specific ethnic conflict, it would be perceived as being concerned with the descriptive function manifesting itself in respect to the cognitive control of affect. Our growth from infantilism to disciplined moral adults depends upon our acquisition of such control. These are the skills which enable a grandchild of a Black slave to sit together, on the same bus, with the grandchild of a Klu Klux Klan member, while fully cognizant of their histories.

Prescriptive function.

The tradition from which the social studies curriculum receives its mandate to teach 'civics' is mainly prescriptive. Probably it derives in large part from a very ancient 'mythic' tradition wherein, for example, ancient story tellers sought to inspire children with a love for their clans and a desire for their communities long before education had a formal name. (Reference: Kilpatrick) Such stories need not be, in part or in their entirety, accounts

of documentable events. Beyond myths and story-telling, the huge array of emotional experiences attendant upon emulating heroes, formulating a personal and ethnic identity, receiving admonitions from parents and others with whom emotional attachments are strong, are all, in a sense, precursors of that aspect of the social studies curriculum which is concerned with shaping morality, values and attitudes. Thus the aspect of the social studies curriculum which we call prescriptive finds itself utilizing predominantly indirect methods of instruction and modes of thought which are not easily reconciled with the direct, objective and factual methods of instruction characterizing the descriptive aspect.

Viewed in this light, the American social studies curriculum appears as a curious amalgam of two strains of human approaches to the world between which there has always been considerable tension. We need not review here the ways in which a rational approach evokes agnosticism, skepticism and suspisciousness of presentations accompanied by feelings; nor how, on the other hand, the affective domain proves to be an inescapable aspect of human life, and a compelling power of moral injunctions. We do need to note, however, that in its intellectual content, the American Revolution was the child of rationalism of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and that the Founding Fathers were also constrained to seek to accomodate the ethnic, religious, social, and economic diversity that was only beginning to emerge in the country at the time. Of necessity they produced a constitution which, by the constraints it put upon government, ultimately spawned an educational system which seeks to enlist and inspire loyalty and participativeness on the part of the citizenry. It also fosters pluralism and at the same time interdicts from the school the dissemination of specific ethnic and religious values.

The list of educational objectives concerned with civic values, attitudes, and attendant behavior patterns that are to be found in a typical social studies curriculum follow as a corollary from the basic conceptions of American society. The list of objectives pertaining to 'citizenship and values' consists of: 'respecting our American heritage and beliefs, understanding the democratic process, understanding the roles of the citizen in a democracy, understanding and accepting the need for laws, developing a respect for rules and laws, appreciating ethnic heritages, appreciating such basic values as honesty, equality, loyalty, dependability, cooperation, fair play and human dignity, appreciating the dignity of occupations,... participating in decision making, respecting the rights of others while exercising one's own, recognizing that responsibility and freedom are closely related, recognizing and avoiding negative stereotypes' together with several other objectives pertaining to personal and work relations. Clearly these phrases found in a Teacher's Guide carry much of the burden of American intellectual history, of its thrust to establish a liberal, pluralistic democracy based upon the good sense, tolerance, fairness and the enlightened self-interest of the citizenry, of its desire to separate church from state and of its premise that moral values which do not pertain to public politics are to be considered private and reserved to individuals or families.

In a pluralistic nation conflicts may occur between the cultural moral values learned through one's original ethnic heritage and the heritage of a nation made up of many diverse cultures and ethnicities. How the subcultural heritage is to be related to or to be subsumed under the values of the broader culture are not made explicit in the curricular prescription. Instead, prescribed values appear to range from total assimilation into a single and uniform American culture, at one end, to maintaining diverse ethnicities, cultures and languages under the umbrella of one nation, at the other end.

Many American leaders have have positioned themselves in divergent spots along the continuum of desired assimilation. In 18-- Walt Whitman heard the "varied carols" of America. In 18-- Theodore Roosevelt said he wanted nothing to do with "hyphenated Americans." In 192- Israel Zangwell saw a new breed of Americans coming from the "Melting Pot." In 1986 the society has yet to decide whether it prefers a "melting pot" or an "ethnic salad" as its image for the country. Treatment of ethnicity in the social studies textbooks reflects the uncertainty and is not clear as to the type of assimilation it prescribes. The concept of assimilation seems to refer to either: (a) the total subsumption of all ethnic groups into an existing main culture; (b) the coexistance of ethnicities with each other under one national umbrella; or (c) the reconstruction of a new society from the amalgamation of the contributing ethnic groups. The concept of assimilation as inclusive of all three meanings deserves further exploration.

Ethnic education and the prescription of assimilation

Social studies texts teach children a great deal about themselves and others. Among the key notions that many texts transmit is that of "assimilation." Assimilation is a value, as well as a process; and the particulars are applied to various ethnic groups. The conventional understanding of assimilation has been well summarized by Isaacs, (1975 pg. 32):

> "The baby acquires a name, an individual name, a family name, a group name. He acquires the history and origins of the group into which he is born. The group's culture-past automatically endows him, among other things, with his nationality or other condition of national, regional, or tribal affiliation, his language, religion, and value system -- the inherited clusters of mores, ethics, aesthetics, and attributes that come out of the geography or topography of his birthplace itself, all shaping the outlook and way of life upon which the new individual enters from his first day.
>
> These legacies come to the child bearing the immense weight of the whole past as his family has received it. They shape the only reality in his existence and are made part of him before he has barely any consciousness at all. This is done formally and ritually at or soon after birth, as in baptism, circumcision, and similar rites of entry into the world of the group, and again, after the conditioning of the childhood years, in the varieties of puberty rites or initiations by which young persons become fully admitted members of the group."

A less conventional view of ethnicity (Steinberg, 1981) argues that there is substantial evidence for the argument that most sociological phenomena attributed to ethnicity ought properly be associated with social class and economic differences. Economic exploitation and economic values do seem to explain ethnic pluralism in America at least as well as the somewhat cloudy notion (Steinberg uses the term "mythic") that surrounds explanations of HOW ethnic identity influences present behavior, choices, and points of view.

Some writers contend that the construct of assimilation, as it is used in sociological research and writing seems so extensible that it loses any applicability to particular instances. For example, Bash (1979, pg. 133) writes,

> "...the concept of assimilation was shown to exhibit such

> elasticity that in its research implementation it has been variously, and less than explicitly, specified in the forms of assimilation -as- psychological adjustment, assimilation-as -cultural -adaptation, and assimilation-as-structural-integration. ...its applicability in sociology, unlike other social-process concepts, is virtually restricted to the special field of racial and ethnic relation, a substantive area that is conceded to be notoriously devoid of specifically pertinent sociological theory.
>
> In consequence, the concept of assimilation stands in theoretical isolation, neither responsible to to nor informed by an established frame of legitimately sociological theory. Research that proceeds from such a theory-detached concept, even though it is conducted in the name of sociology, does not emanate from sociological problems, but from social problems; it is not inspired by theoretical, that is to say sociological issues, but rather by practical, politico-social ones."

In substance, Bash and Steinberg appear to have much in common concerning the mythic notion of ethnic assimilation. In America, assimilation into the larger culture does not occur without an active part being played by those who would be assimilated. There is a language to learn, an accent to lose, customs, mores and folkways to be unlearned and others substituted for them. Assimilation is PURPOSEFUL activity when pursued by an inidividual. Steinberg, (1981 pg. 257) writes,

> "Ethnic groups were not just passive victims of cultural repression, but played an active role in their own demise -- not out of any collective self-hatred, but because circumstances forced them to make choices that undermined the basis for cultural survival. To be sure, these choices were difficult ones, and they were accompanied by a painful sense of cultural loss. This is what Mario Puzo meant in The Fortunate Pilgrim when he wrote: "They spoke with guilty loyalty of customs they themselves had trampled into dust." (Puzo, M., 1954, pg. 11.)

In America assimilation is an ongoing process. Periodically waves of immigration sweep this country. The first generation to arrive learns that to become an American means obtaining one's citizenship papers. Individuals who know nothing of the social sciences, theories, or constructs, nevertheless know what it means to "become an American" and how that differs from "being an American." For the second and third generations the problem of assimilation takes the form of full acceptance into the body politic and social fabric of the larger culture.

For a growing number of young Americans ethnic identity is ACHIEVED, not assigned. The American process of achieving ethnic identity involves learning and choosing a view, often romanticized, of one's personal history. Schools tend to support a romantic view of ethnic identity and abet the process through which it is attained. The world outside the classroom does neither. Independent of the stance taken by educators toward ethnic education, learning how they are similar to and different from their parents and others remains an important developmental task for children. It is a complex process that is hindered by an erosion of trust in schooling as a source of information concerning life as experienced by the student.

Assimilation is increasingly complex in twentieth century, multicultural America. For example, one may raise as a separate social issue, worthy of study in itself, the question of HOW an individual's primary ethnic identity is formed. Many influences contribute to the increasing complexity of ethnic identity formation, and in consequence, assimilation. Discrimination precedes assimilation, and it has been difficult to make simple, categorical, group assignments.

Ethnic identity, as well as the extent that an individual is assimilated into a culture has become more an issue of choice, a choice of cultural identification. The strength and sources of individuals' ethnic identity may be influenced by, but are not a function of, cultural prejudice. However tenuous one's ethnic identification may be; it can be enough for others, ignoring all complexities, to identify, label, and stereotype.

Assimilation involves the adoption into one's ethnic identity those characteristics which are typical of the new culture. It does not necessarily mean the giving up of an identity which is tied to the original ethnicity of the individual. In American democratic society, it is quite possible for an individual to be assimilated in the American culture and meet its requirements at the same time as retaining one's original ethnic identity. This possibility is precisely what contributes to pluralism in the American society.

The school and the social studies curriculum contribute to the process of assimilation by exposing the individual to the American civic and social values, requirements, and traditions. Included in these, is the acceptance of the pluralistic society and respect for each other's original ethnic group. Yet social studies textbooks differ in their philosophy as to whether they should emphasize assimilation into the American culture to the extent of losing one's original identity, or accept the existence of many diverse cultural identities as constituting the American culture. Over the years, these approaches to assimilation have been labeled by sociologists and anthropologists as "the melting pot," and "the salad bowl" theory.

The phrase "melting pot" was first used to apply to the issue of ethnicity by Zangwill in his play "The Melting Pot" (10). Since then many authors have written on the subject. Basically, it is used to mean the fusion of the different ethnic cultures and identities found in the United States into one "American" culture and identity. Thus, although we may be Italian-Americans, we are Americans first. An example of an elementary level textbook series using the "melting pot" philosophy is the Scott Foresman Social Studies Series. The Teacher's Guide section of this series explicitly states: "Although Americans have diverse backgrounds, group identities and beliefs, they have common ideals that unite them as citizens of one nation" (8). The phrase "salad bowl" was first used by Degler to describe cultural pluralism in the following manner. "In a salad bowl the lettuce is distinguishable from the chicory, the tomatoes from the cabbage" (3). Thus, here, if we are Italian-Americans, we are as much Italian as we are American.

While some social studies texts adhere to one or another approach quite explicitly, others profess neutrality, giving credence to both approaches, and still others appear to have chosen one approach without making it explicit. Also, the more recent books may tend to reflect the "salad bowl" rather than the "melting pot" approach in harmony with such movements as bilingual education.

DILEMMAS IN THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS

A close analysis of the ducational objectives which the social studies curriculum has set for itself would reveal many problems and dilemmas which may be inherent in the objectives themselves.

First, the crux of these problems lies in the disparaties between the facts of human history and human nature and the hopes and desires humans have for themselves. Thus, within the academic social sciences which comprise a basic source for the content of social studies texts, strict adherence to descriptivism and to the canons of objectivity are subjected to twistings and turnings in the interest of social and political objectives.

Second, in a pluralistic society it is unlikely that the values and behavior of all groups and all individuals will warrant the respect or even tolerance of all other groups with their respective value systems; the facts of American society place strains upon its commitment to tolerance which are not easily relieved -- and which are not, in fact, resolved by polite accomodations or a disregard for reality. Similarly, if the behavior of our heroes of the past is to provide the models and examples for the younger generation, a commitment to rigorous descriptivism may result in a defeat of the very educational objectives the presentation of the life of a hero may be intended to achieve.

The attempt to be at once objectively descriptive of facts and pedagogically presciptive in shaping values and attitudes may create a dilemma which social studies texts have not adequately resolved. Subject content to be included in the text may be appropriate for one objective or the other, but not for achieving both at the same time. If the content is purely factual, it may present information that may be unfavorable to some ethnic group(s) and may be criticized for inadvertantly resulting in ethnic bias. If the content is selected specifically to promote acceptance of various ethnicities the facts may have to be selectively presented resulting in the omission of some negative factual material. This in turn may be criticized for distorting facts to achieve political ends in a pluralistic society.

Unlike other curricular domains such as mathematics, English, and second language learning, the social studies, (such as history, ethnic education, global perspectives,) are unavoidably laden with social values. Within any society, tensions among competing values are to be expected. Often, the most intractable problems occur when values conflict, as for example, when the Supreme Court must decide between competing rights. But , despite tensions decisions must be made and those decisions consequently generate compromises and difficult choices for individuals within a society. Since to a degree tensions among values form a substratum on which curricular foundations may be laid, difficulties which arise from them are extended to both the authors who write about cultural values and the publishers who print and disseminate these writers' works.

Three examples of unsolved problems are discussed below which center about value conflicts in social studies instruction and which require some kind of resolution prior to publishing a textbook.

First is the tension that exists between teaching historical truth in an unvarnished, possibly brutal fashion, and preserving peace among and within ethnic, religious, and racial groups by sparing them all those facts that might prove embarrassing for one or the other group. Should unpleasant facts be

omitted, or given a "low profile," so that the grievances of one generation in one group are not taught to others? Every culture and people that has a recorded history has some episode or aspect that is, in contemporary terms, repugnant. The integrity an individual enjoys in our society was so hard won by immigration, often by flight from bone deep conflict, and the healing effects of distance and time so nearly palpable to those who can remember that they may question the wisdom of any course of action that runs the risk of reviving those conflicts. They may question the value of rational, accurate, plain spoken exposition of history that may revive dormant grievances or instruct naive students of old stereotypes and ancient hatreds.

If we admit that affective as well as cognitive elements are involved in social studies instruction, we cannot dismiss the argument that the content of a communication is at least equally as important as its clarity and precision. Nurturing students as social beings is a major goal of many curricula and of their supporting texts. Writers most likely do not want one child to say to another," Your grandfather may have killed my grandfather," even if the statement is historically a real possibility. Such personal implications tend to be avoided in most textbooks. If the distortion is weighed against the affective costs of including harsh material, omission may provide the escape route for the writer who perceives the conflict.

Second example concerns the tension created by the role of pluralism in juxtaposition to the core culture. If we portray ourselves as, "Americans, all," how do we treat our different ethnic backgrounds in the shaping of our core culture? Egalitarian values sometimes conflict with historical evidence. As a people, it is hard for us to admit that in some domains one group may have contributed to the development of our country more than another group. Such comparisons are tacitly considered invidious, and are avoided in social interaction. In their place we tend to "highlight" the special contributions of the groups concerned. Although both differences and similarities among ethnic groups may be included in social studies textbooks, the tensions concerning selection and socially acceptable treatment of groups to be discussed may present difficulties for authors and publishers of textbooks alike.

Third example concerns the tension between the values of the marketplace and those of the academe. Publishers must sell books to stay in business; academicians must present what they perceive to be truth in order to maintain their professional integrity. Textbooks intended for mass markets may have to make compromises among competing values. In effect, the demands of the marketplace may be indistinguishable from censorship when the gap is sufficiently large between "truths" as perceived by the academician and as desired by the various pressure groups. While pressure groups can resort to legal action in order to win their case, textbook publishers may prefer to avoid legal action. For, even if they succeeded in legal recognition of their stand, it is unlikely that their texts would be adopted by those whom they defeated in court.

Such dilemmas and problems inherent in the objectives of social studies curricula raise questions concerning the validity of the content chosen for inclusion in social studies textbooks. The questions of how textbooks may deal with these issues of diverse objectives as required by the curriculum area, and how they may deal with the ethnic ideals of a pluralistic society as they impact on the developing student, are central to the analysis of the content presented by various social studies texts.

ISSUES IN STUDYING THE TREATMENT OF ETHNICITY IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

There are many ways of approaching the investigation and analysis of the problems concerning social studies curricula, and the treatment of ethnicity in social studies textbooks. The portrayal and treatment of ethnicity and ethnic groups in elementary and secondary school textbooks is not a new theme. As early as 1949 a study was conducted by the American Council on Education, INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHING MATERIALS. This study revealed that textbooks used throughout the United States were "distressingly inadequate, inappropriate, and even damaging to intergroup relations" (Kane, M.B., MINORITIES IN TEXTBOOKS, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1970). The Anti-Defamation League followed up with a similar study, THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS, eleven years later "to ascertain whether those years had seen a change in textbook treatment of minorities." The findings, general and specific, differed little from those of the 1949 study" (Kane, M.B. MINORITIES IN TEXTBOOKS, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1970). In 1970, Michael B. Kane conducted another study, MINORITIES IN TEXTBOOKS, to see if there had been any improvement in the treatment of minorities. He found that although certain cliches and stereotyping had been erased, there was no real advancement in the presentation and treatment of minority groups. In the study done in 1983 by Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, ETHNIC GROUPS IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS, the findings gathered from the study of SIX secondary school American History textbooks revealed that coverage concerning ethnic groups ranged from 15.2% to 40.3% and the treatment of all Southern and Eastern Europeans ranged from 0.8% to 5.8%

All of the reported studies pointed to some deficiencies in the way textbooks treat various ethnic groups. Yet, some were outdated in that they dealt with books prior to 1970. Others could be criticized for lacking a degree of comprehensiveness in having selected a small number of books to be examined. Still others seemed to generalize their conclusions on the basis of rather subjective readings of the text without systematic and rigorous examination or concern for the reliability of their judgments. Their review pointed to a need for investigating a large number of textbooks, covering the K-12 spectrum. It also pointed to a need to focus on the treatment of one specific ethnic group using others for comparative purposes only. Last but not least, it pointed to the need to use a rigorous and systematic method which would yield valid and reliable results.

It was in the context of the forgoing discussion and need that the Bureau of Educational Evaluation undertook to conduct an study of textbooks' treatment of ethnicity. Although the details of the study are described in the chapters that follow, some preliminary considerations are presented further here.

The Italian-American ethnic group was selected as the focus of the study. This selection was in part motivated by the interest of the Italian-American Institute to Foster Higher Education in the systematic determination of whether textbooks treated the culture, heritage, contributions, and current life-style of Italian-Americans in an unbiased, accurate and comprehensive manner. Furthermore, there were no reported studies of textbooks which dealt specifically with this ethnic group although many resource books existed dealing with the experiences of Italian-Americans from the time America was discovered to the present.

The study of how textbooks treat a single ethnic group cannot be very meaningful without comparison and reference to the treatment of other ethnic

groups. Questions of coverage, comprehensiveness and possible bias in treatment are relative issues. Although it may be necessary to focus on one ethnic group in order to be parsimonious, it is important to recognize that other ethnicities must also be considered in a study which purports to make inferences which should be useful to both publishers and educators.

There are currently 54 identified published textbook series concerning social studies instruction in grades K-12 (Textbooks in Print, 1981). Any one of these series includes anywhere from one to twenty-two books dealing with the social studies curriculum. In some grade-related materials the coverage generally corresponds to curricular sequences recommended by the New York State Department of Education. However, New York State guides are stated rather broadly; for example, they may refer to the study of the "World Around Us," but they only recommend and rarely specify the degree to which the sub-topics must be included. Much is left, therefore, to the publishers' interpretations of what content-coverage might be relevant, and to the interpretation of the professional educator as to how these materials may be utilized in the classroom. A cursory examination shows, for example, that some publishers have a textbook list which includes at a given grade level a book on Ancient Greece but not one on Ancient Rome (EXPLORING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES). Other publishers appear to give equal space to both. To be sure, those who have not published the material on Ancient Rome would not claim to be comprehensive in their approach to curriculum. In fact, there are some publishers who have focused on Asian and African civilizations and have omitted Western Europe altogether.

There is a great deal of latitude exercised by publishers in their selection of topics. This latitude is found also in examining single textbooks. Some books may devote one paragraph to the role of a major culture, others may devote several chapters. Yet, a child that may be exposed to a lengthy study of the Greek contribution to Western civilization with disproportionately less exposure to the contribution of the Romans, is not likely to form an unbiased view of the role of each ancient civilization.

Another question about coverage concerns the selection of the material to be included. For example, does the author choose to elaborate on Nero or Ceasar? Does the emphasis on Ceasar focus on his being a tyrant or a statesman and a historian? Is there an extensive coverage of Al Capone or of Toscanini? Some texts, perhaps quite inadvertantly and probably with an intent to capture the youngsters' interest and imagination, may overemphasize some events or people and not others, leading to a distortion of facts. A systematic assessment of the type, as well as the degree of content coverage can shed light on some gross or subtle errors that may be avoided in future revisions of the materials.

Sometimes the context in which a fact is placed can lead to faulty inferences in attitude formation. For example, consider a statement such as: "In the second half of the fifteenth century the Medici dominated banking in important centers of Europe." If this sentence appeared in the context of economic contributions of Italians to European economic policy, it would be interpreted quite positively. On the other hand, if it appeared in the context of the ills of mercantilism, it would conjure a rather negative image. Therefore, the systematic analysis of the materials needs to take account the contextual referents of events or people.

Clearly, a systematic analysis of textbook coverage needs to deal with at least three dimensions: a) comprehensiveness of coverage, b) the type of content covered, and c) the context in which the subject content is placed. A

content-analysis of selected textbooks can yield information in all three dimensions. However, these three dimensions describe only very broad aspects of the content. Further elaborations are needed concerning descriptive aspects of the curricular objectives. Whether the content included is presented factually, or in an evaluative manner is of clear importance. Also, when evaluative comments or implications are observed, it is important to determine whether a positive or negative image is conjured. Devices used to communicate factual and evaluative messages may also play a part in the development of the image which the learner perceives.

School personnel and committees faced with the responsibility of selecting textbooks need to pay attention to all the factors discussed above. Selection of textbooks must be based on a clear understanding of the implicit and explicit objectives that are evident in the texts, but also those that are desired by the school district. The content and comprehensiveness of coverage in the textbooks should be considered in relation to both national and local curricular needs. Selectors of textbooks need to be concerned with the veracity of the content being presented and pay attention to differences between presentation of facts as opposed to opinions and evaluative statements. The possible distortion of facts through their contextual placement, and overgeneralized interpretations requires close scrutiny; and decisions may require a prior clarification of local and scientific values. Methods of communication used in the textbooks need to be examined for their appropriateness and efficiency in communicating messages that are consistent with the objectives of both the book and of the class in which the book will be used.

The insights to be gained from a systematic analysis of textbooks with the above items in mind should also be very important to the publishers. The responsibility of the publisher to conform to educational and societal needs in textbooks cannot be minimized. Publishers need considerable guidance from systematically obtained evidence that clarifies objectives, social issues, psychological impact of the material as presented, and the validation of selected content material against existing primary and secondary sources available to the discipline. In resolving tensions between the marketplace and the academe, publishers may derive strength from the support which the broad network of the scientific community might afford them.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY OF CONTENT-ANALYSIS

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE METHOD.

Content analysis has been called a "technique for systematic inference from communications." (Carney, T.F.,Content Analysis, University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, Canada, 1972). As used in this book, the term refers to a family of rigorous research methods which, if used correctly, enable the formulation of objective, reliable, qualified, and valid statements about a body of text.

Content analysis may be viewed as a stable bridge connecting the chasm between qualitative and quantitative methods of research and evaluation. Researchers who adhere to naturalistic methods of collecting data and to holistic inferences that are largely inductive often reject the value of hypothetico-deductive methods characterized by high levels of experimental manipulation and control that enable inferences supported by quantitative, objective, valid, and reliable observations. Most research designs in reality allow for mixing some aspects of these two extreme approaches. Like any method, content analysis may be used without regard to scientific cannons. However, if the method is applied in a manner which combines the flexibility of the qualitative inductive research with some of the rigor of the quantitative, well-controled, and deductive methodology, it can yield highly systematic data and powerful inferences which are both valid and reliable.

Some important issues need to be considered in this attempt to combine the best of two divergent approaches to systematic investigation. First is the issue of sampling. Since content analysis deals with a systematic examination of text comprised of messages, it is important to define a priori the population of the types of text to be sampled for analysis. As in the case of any sound research design, as the sample gets larger, the reliability and the accuracy of the generalizations will improve.

The second issue concerns the establishment of a category system for the content analysis. In naturalistic qualitative research, the investigator enters the task with no predetermined suppositions about important variables or variable relationships. The categories of the analysis emanate, inductively, from the observations as certain events or behaviors occur repeatedly to form patterns of structural or functional relationships. In theory-based deductive approaches, relationships among variables are hypothesized prior to the investigation, and operational definitions are formulated or derived from theory against which the measures used in the observations are validated. Content-analysis of texts allows for the application of either or a combination of these two approaches.

In analyzing the "treatment of ethnicity" in social studies textbooks, the utilization of a predetermined category system combined with an opennes to its modification seems preferable. Since either approach by itself raises some questions concerning the relevance of the category system to the problem being investigated, combination of the two approaches tends to assure a greater degree of validity concerning the operational definition of "treatment of ethnicity," in textbooks. Thus, after an operational definition for an ethnic group has been accepted, a predetermined category system may be devised to include such attributes as positive, negative, or factual/neutral statements of fact, opinion, or fiction concerning various ethnic groups. The theory base for

these specifications may be found in social psychology and in socio-political anthropology. At the same time the investigators may be ready to modify such a theory-based category system by additional dimensions that emerge out of the reading of the texts themselves. For example, the type and extensiveness of the content selected for coverage may best be left to emerge out of the analysis rather than be described in advance.

An a priori description of the content that should be selected for inclusion in the textbooks raises the third issue concerning content-analysis; namely, that content-coverage in the text must be validated against an independent criterion of what is actually available for inclusion as the content of a textbook. Clearly it is not possible to include every event and every biographical reference in the confines of every textbook. Also clearly, "facts" can sometimes be favorable or unfavorable to a given ethnic group. The inclusion of such facts may not necessarily represent bias in either direction unless their proportion in the text varies significantly from their proportion in the universe of possible references that constitute the independent criterion for coverage. Therefore, an a priori description of the content AVAILABLE for inclusion is viewed as constituting the CRITERION against which the material actually included must be validated.

The fourth issue of concern is the unit of analysis. Every analysis, whether qualitative or quantitative, has a unit of analysis. The unit in qualitative analysis may not always be made explicit. For example, when a teacher looks at a textbook and concludes that "This text is not appropriate for this group of youngsters," the unit of analysis is the total book. One could also examine some sub-sections of the book, such as certain chapters, or explanations dealing with desired concepts. The units of analysis would then be either chapters, or passages related to the concept in question. Thus, the unit of analysis is implicit in the kind of statement one wishes to make after examining the textual material. In quantitative analyses, the units are more explicit. One may look at the number of pages devoted to a given concept, or event, or ethnic group. Or one may wish to examine the number of positive or negative statements concerning a given ethnic group in order to check the proportions of these included in a text.

There is no specific rule that dictates the selection of one unit of analysis as opposed to another. One may select any unit that is relevant to the information desired. However, there is a scientific rule that units may not be combined haphazardly without the evidence that they are, in fact, subdivisions of the same scale. For example, one may add inches to make up a foot since the scale relationships of an inch to a foot are clearly and uniformly specified. On the other hand, number of pages may not be added up to make a book, since different books vary in their total number of pages. If desired, one may examine different units of analysis with regard to the same problem. However, these analyses must be kept separate, and may not be mathematically combined.

The fifth issue to be considered is that of reliability of the judgments made in the analytic process. Will two people reading the same textual message judge the content in the same way? Fortunately, the degree to which judges agree or disagree in their assessments may be empirically determined. The degree to which they agree would then be considered as the index of reliability between them. Of course one could raise the same question about one individual's assessment of the same material at different times. The individual's consistency in assessing the same text at different times may also be empirically determined and would yield a reliability index for that individual. If the results of the content analysis are to be generalized with

some degree of confidence, such reliabilities must be established and provided as evidence of the rigor with which the analysis was conducted.

All five issues discussed above were carefully considered in planning and conducting the content analysis of how social studies textbooks treat ethnicity. The remaining sections of this chapter describe the procedures followed with regard to each issue.

SAMPLE OF TEXTBOOKS USED IN THIS STUDY.

The first step in selecting the sample of textbooks to be used in the study was to define what comprised the population of social studies textbooks. Valid inferences from the study would depend on assuring representation from all levels of the social studies curriculum and from all the topics with which social studies are understood to be concerned. Such topics included not only history and geography, but also concepts which might be categorized as civics, community living, and current events.

Care was taken to assure that the materials examined for the project were classified as TEXTBOOKS. The classification was confirmed by bibliographic listings, library card files, or curriculum librarians. It excluded so-called "supplementary materials," such as pamphlets, or other forms of learning materials which teachers might assign or make available to children. It also excluded the school reference books, such as encyclopedias, newspapers, and dictionaries.

In carrying out the sampling, several lists and card-catalogues were consulted. These included: Textbooks in Print, the lists provided by the Curriculum Advisory Service of Educational Products Information Exchange (EPIE), the Approved Textbooks, the Ancillary and Music Catalogue, Volumes I and II (1981-82) Published by the Board of Education, New York City, the card file of the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, N.Y., and the Education Curriculum Library of Hofstra University. Also, some school districts on Long Island, N.Y., were consulted to determine what history and social studies textbooks, or series, were approved for use in those districts.

Appendix A gives the total list of textbooks and series that were selected for inclusion in the sample for content-analysis. The list is in alphabetical order by the publisher's name. Comprehensiveness of the sample was of cardinal importance to assure representativeness of content-coverage, emphasis, possible valence that might accompany the material, and the style of communication. It was also important to include a large number of publishers in order to take into account possible differences among publishers. It will be noted in appendix A that the final sample represented 32 publishers and a total of 320 books consisting of a total of 78,506 pages. Selections were limited to books published mainly after 1970 since these were determined to be the most likely to be used in the schools. When a given series' starting date was earlier than 1970, but the bulk of the remaining books in that series was published after 1970, all the books in that series were included in the sample. Therefore, a few books published earlier than 1970 were included in the final sample of books analyzed.

It was decided that the sample should represent books appropriate for grades K-12. Therefore, effort was made to include proportionate numbers of books from each school level, namely elementary, junior highschool, and senior highschool. Some of the upper level books were designed for grades 7-12 without

a clear differentiation between junior and senior highschool levels. They were analyzed separately. However, for purposes of generalizing from findings, their results were added to the combined results of the junior and senior highschool texts.

Appendix B lists, for each publisher in the sample, the total number of books and pages that were content-analyzed at each level. It should be noted that the selected sample is quite proportional to the total number of texts printed by the publishers for each educational level.

ESTABLISHING THE CATEGORY SYSTEM FOR THE ANALYSIS.

A systematic study plan, prepared a priori, distinguishes content analysis from an informal critical reading of texts. In content-analysis one doe not say, for example, "Let me look through these books to see whether there is any among them which I can argue to be prejudiced against Italian-Americans." Such an approach, with its inevitable post hoc adjudications of what constitutes prejudice, justifiably does not safeguard the researcher against charges of him or herself being prejudiced. Instead, the content analyst must determine the criteria for the analysis beforehand. Often a predetermined theory-based classification system serves this purpose. If, during the systematic examination of a corpus of text, unanticipated dimensions are suggested, it is permissable to modify and amend the study plan, provided, the analyst back-tracks over previously examined data to assure they are treated with uniformity and theoretical consistency.

In the current study the classification system for the content analysis provided the coders of data with a "matrix of expectations" and the means for classifying relevant segments of text. It provided a system for making notations about segments of text judged to belong to the particular category or combination of categories in the classification system. Such notations could subsequently be subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

The theoretical basis underlying the "matrix of expectations" was derived from the social psychological theories of ethnicity and prejudice. An ethnic group is defined as a collection of people considered by both themselves and other people to have in common one or more of the following characteristics: (1)religion, (2) racial origin,(3)national origin, and language and cultural traditions. (J.Gould and W.L.Kolb, eds., A Dictionary of Social Sciences, N.Y.: Free Press,1964, 243-244). In complex industrial societies one finds individuals who are simultaneously members of two or more ethnic groups. The group membership that is most important for a particular individual at any given time depends partly on that person's attitudes and partly on the attitudes of others who may or may not be a member of the same ethnic group. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to specify the boundaries of any particular ethnic group except by the label assigned to it either by its own membership or by others. Since Italian-Americans were selected as the focus of the study, the investigators accepted all religious, national, historical, linguistic, and cultural references made to that group as being in the domain of the content to be analyzed. Similarly, other ethnic groups, such as Polish-Americans, White Anglo Saxons, Blacks, Native Americans, were considered an ethnic group by the characteristics of the same definition.

Some additional reasons were described in Chapter I for selecting Italian-Americans as the primary ethnic group of focus in the content analysis. A preliminary review of the literature and of the social studies

textbooks resulted in the conclusion that the study of any ethnic group must include the study of the historical heritage of that group. Thus, the study of Italian-Americans must include references to the people, events, places, and developments involving Italy, Italians, and even ancient Rome and the Romans, much as the study of Turkish-Americans might have to include references to the Ottoman Empire as well as modern Turkey. The culture, traditions, values of these ethnic groups are undoubtedly affected by their heritage, and in some instances, the events in their original land have had a direct bearing on the behavior of the individuals or groups leaving those countries in order to immigrate to America. The inclusion of these references necessitated, however, the distinguishing between what might be considered EXTERNAL to the ethnic American group, and those that might be considered as immediately relevant to the group or INTERNAL to it. Thus, in addition to accepting the definition of an ethnic group given above, the investigators differentiated between the entity as it may exist in the American culture and all the externally related aspects of its heritage. This differentiation would allow for the examination of how the ethnic group is treated by the textbooks without confounding the attitudes involved in that treatment with those that might be directed to groups that are no longer an integral part of the ethnic group in question. At the same time, it would not omit the continuity extending from Ancient Rome through Italian Renaissance to American pupils of Italian descent. The importance of attending to such continuity was made especially clear in a film-strip called "Italians in America," prepared in part by Professor Lawrence Castiglione, narrated by Frank Langella, and produced by the Anti-Defamation League.

The attitude of an individual towards an ethnic group or towards the members of an ethnic group is referred to as an ethnic attitude. Smith (1947), Kramer (1949), and Chein (1951) are among the early social psychologists who distinguished among the cognitive, affective, and conative components of ethnic attitudes.[Smith, M.B., The personal setting of public opinions: a study of attitudes toward Russia, Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 11, 507-523; Kramer,B.M. Dimensions of prejudice,J. Psychology, Vol. 27,389-451; Chein, I. Notes on a framework for the measurement of discrimination and prejudice. In Deutsch and Cook, Eds., Research Methods in Social Relations,Vol.1, N.Y.: Dryden Press 382-390]. The cognitive component includes perceptions, beliefs and expectations of an individual with regard to members of the ethnic group in question. Often such attitudes are expressed in stereotyping people or groups. Stereotypes result from ethnic attitudes that are inadequately grounded, at least partially inaccurate, and held with considerable assurance by a relatively large group of people (Lippmann, W. Public Opinion. N.Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1922). Implied in this definition of stereotypes is the importance of accuracy of a statement made about an ethnic group.

It is clear that statements about a group which are not based on appropriate factual evidence and which may not be judged as accurate by objective experts may be deemed prejudicial. The degree to which a statement may be considered factual and accurate, then, is of extreme importance in content-analyzing segments of texts dealing with various ethnic groups. Especially in social studies texts one would expect descriptions, or references to any ethnic group to be historically valid, and supported by factual evidence. Statements of opinion, with no factual support might be considered suspect. It was out of this theoretical rationale that the dimension of "fact vs opinion" was accepted for inclusion in the classification system for the content-analysis. The analyst was to record whether or not statements are factual WITHOUT MAKING ANY INITIAL INFERENCES AS TO THE EXISTENCE OF PREJUDICE OR BIAS. For, although it is important to keep a record of the accuracy and

factualness of statements or passages, it is equally important to withold judgement or inferences until the cumulative data may be examined for proportions and contexts of such statements. Rationality and scientific rigor require logical deductions and cautious inference from obtained imformation. Hasty judgment, or prejudgment, and overgeneralization from limited data would leave the researchers vulnerable to being judged prejudiced themselves. Hence, recording of the content characteristics was not to be confounded with making inferences from the analyses that would follow.

The affective component of the ethnic attitude is usually associated with a positive or negative valence. On the positive side, attitudes may include such feelings as admiration, approval, sympathy, identification; and on the negative side they may include such feelings as fear or hostility, dislike, disapproval, contempt, alienation. Sometimes these feelings are expressed by explicit statements; other times the feelings are communicated without explicit statements but through a selection, or omission, of one or another type of information, or by placing the information in a context that carries a positive or negative valence. Thus, two main issues emerge as relevant to the content-analysis of text with regard to its affective communication: the direction of the valence, and the degree to which the affect is either explicit or implied.

Sometimes positive or negative valence may arise as consequence of adherence to or deviation from socially accepted norms. The communication of such deviation may be factual, explicit, and nonprejudicial. For example, a statement such as, "Americans fighting for their country and its democratic ideals found Mussolini's fascistic policies unacceptable," carries an explicit negative valence for Mussolini's policies; yet it might be viewed as a factual statement with positive or neutral valence if the emphasis is on the Americans fighting for their country. Perhaps the statement implies a negative valence for Italians since Mussolini's policies may be equated to the policies of that nation. By association, a negative valence may be applied for the ethnic group of Italians, which could include Italian-Americans. In fact, the ill treatment of some members of ethnic groups whose original native lands were at war with the United States during the WWII, points to the existence of this implied association in the minds of some people. The statement may be viewed by the content-analyst as carrying an implied negative valence for the Italian-Americans unless the context in which it is placed clarifies that the first word of the sentence, "Americans," includes Italian-Americans. The contextual placement of the sentence, then, becomes very important in determining both the valence of the statement and the degree to which the affect is explicit or implied. This illustration is intended to clarify a third issue, namely the context of the communication, that needs to be considered in judging the quality of the segment being communicated.

The content-analysts were instructed to record the valence of each segment being examined, as well as note whether the message was implied. They were also instructed to take into account the context into which simple statements might be placed in making their judgments. Objectively, the best way to allow for context was to include in the segment all relevant information. This was achieved by changing the unit of analysis from a single sentence to a full paragraph or a full page, as required. Variations in the units of analysis are discussed in detail in the next section. Let it suffice, at this point, to mention that the classification system included the dimension of valence and the analyst used one of three descriptors to describe valence: positive, negative, or neutral. It also included the notation of whether or not a segment was implied, or was an explicitly stated fact. Evaluative

statements of a favorable nature, such as ," Joe DiMaggio was one of the greatest sports figures," or, "The Ghetto provided a great deal of comfort and help for new comers from Italy," were considered positive statements. Evaluative statements of a deprecating nature , such as, " The ethnic neighborhoods such as Little Italy became the breeding ground for crime and violence," were considered negative. Reports of dates, and data such as the census results, and nonjudgmental descriptions of people, places, or events were considered neutral. Linguistically, positive statements had markers such as, "great, powerful, useful, patriotic," and negative statements were marked by such words as, "unfortunately, treachorous, cruel," and the like.

When the initial classification system was developed, another categorical dimension was specified to differentiate among content areas such as political, social, economic, educational, cultural/aesthetic. It seemed interesting to empirically determine if an ethnic group would be treated more or less positively in some areas than in others, and if the content-areas would be found to contribute to stereotyping of groups. However, the preliminary analyses did not yield sufficient data and reliable differentiations to lead to valid and useful inferences. Often the researchers found the statements to be too complex to be identified with only one content area, and the selection of the single area under which the statement should be classified to involve a virtually impossible judgment. Consequently, the dimension was later omitted from the classification system.

THE UNIVERSE OF CONTENT MATERIAL AVAILABLE FOR INCLUSION IN THE TEXTBOOKS

While the logical validity of a classification system may be derived from a theoretical framework, as described above, the researcher needs to be concerned with the content validity of the material included in the textbooks. The issue of comprehensiveness of coverage and the idea of having an independent source serve as criterion for such coverage were both discussed earlier. A review of the literature and consultations with experts in Italian-American culture yielded a set of 49 resource and reference books, which were NOT themselves social studies textbooks designed for grades K-12, but which could serve as an adequate universe of content that could possibly be covered in the textbooks. A complete listing of these resource materials is provided in Appendix C.

These 49 resource materials provided a rather complete inventory of the events, developments, people, and places which to date have figured in the evolution of Italian-American heritage. The materials were studied carefully by all researchers working on the content-analysis and, provided the team with insights and comprehension of the central values and chief concerns of scholars of the Italian-American ethnic group and community. Although not all the resource materials could be considered equally authoritative, the occurrence of consensus among them and the advice of consultants selected from the Italian-American community, made it possible to use them as reference guides in validating the accuracy of the entries to be found in the social studies textbooks to be content-analyzed. The validation process would be based on two types of comparisons between the resource materials and the textbooks under investigation. Discrepancies between facts reported in the resource materials and those reported in the textbooks would be considered inaccuracies on the part of the textbooks. The second process involved the comparison of the content covered in the resource materials with the content covered in the textbooks.

It is clearly impossible for the universe of available content to be

covered in every textbook. Out of the universe of possible content, some portion had to be determined which, under optimal and ideal conditions, might be covered in a textbook that might be considered most sophisticated with respect to Italian-American community, life, heritage, and ethnic group. The [4 m Study Guide on Italian-Americans 0 m published by the United Federation of Teachers in 1979, and the fimstrip 4 m Italians in America, Parts I and II 0 m published by the Antidefemation League of B'nai Brith (1980) served as the two main references for outlining what coverage might reasonably be expected in a school textbook.

Omissions in the textbooks which might be observed in such comparisons might be attributable merely to sampling errors, in which case they should not yield any consistent pattern and should be characterized as random. Omissions that yielded a consistent pattern would deserve further study to determine if these omissions could be characterized as expressions of favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards the ethnic group.

The findings concerning these comparisons and validation procedures are reported in detail in Chapter III. It should be mentioned here, however, that the main source of invalidity in textbook coverage concerning Italian-Americans and their heritage was found to be the omissions, not inaccuracies. Although the validation was conducted only for the Italian-American group, the general historical knowledge of the researchers, as well as the comparability of findings concerning other ethnic groups reviewed in the content analysis, lead the researchers to believe that similar patterns of omission would be found in reference to other ethnic groups as well.

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Systematic content analysis requires the establishment of units of analysis. The formulation of these units depends partially upon the objectives of the domain and the context in which the analysis is conducted. For example, bananas and apples can be legitimately added if one wishes to determine how many pieces of fruit there are. On the other hand, it may not be legitimate to add small oranges and big oranges if the purpose of the count is to predict how much juice they will yield. Instead one may need to use their weight as the unit of analysis. Similarly, adding the weights of foods in order to determine one's daily food intake may be extremely deceptive. As any one who has dieted can appreciate, three ounces of chocolate cake and three ounces of bean sprouts will have very different effects on weight control. In this case the appropriate unit of analysis to be used in computations is the caloric count.

In content analyzing textbooks of varying lengths, the total book could not be considered as the unit of analysis. Instead, the largest unit of analysis that could be meaningfully utilized was the page, yielding a count of total number of pages that might be devoted to the coverage concerning a given ethnic group. Furthermore, the proportion of total number of pages had to be considered in relation to the total number of pages reviewed, and not in relation tothe length of a specific book. Otherwise books that had no coverage at all might be eliminated from the sample; yet, this type of elimination would result in limiting the total population of books to those that had some coverage of the material in question. Since the purpose of the study was to examine a representative sample of all social studies textbooks within the limits described earlier, it was decided that the meaningful number to be used to indicate the total against which proportions could be calculated would be the total number of pages reviewed. Thus, one of the quantitative methods for analyzing the texts was to count the number of full length pages devoted to the coverage of Italian-Americans and their heritage and to determine the

proportion of such pages to the total number of pages reviewed.

When coverage was less than a full page, but more than a sentence, the fraction of the page was recorded by the analysts. The use of paragraphs was considered, but rejected since paragraph lenghts vary considerably. An estimate of the fraction of the page was deemed more consistent with the rationale for choosing the page as the unit of analysis from the start.

Two additional units of analysis were also utilized: sentences and mentions concerning the ethnic group. The use of sentences was necessitated because there were instances where one or two sentences on a page might be devoted to the ethnic group, but the legth did not warrant the estimation as a fraction of a page. Both in terms of length, and in terms of the thought presented the content could be best described in terms of a discrete number of sentences. The use of mentions was necessitated because there were times when the ethnic group might be mentioned in a list or among other groups but where the sentence could not be interpreted as relevant only to the particular group in question.

In the quantitative analyses, each of the three units was treated separately, and the units were never combined. As a rule, if a segment of text dealing with Italian-Americans was a paragraph or longer, the coder recorded the number or the fraction of pages which the entry occupied. If the relevant entry constituted one sentence, or more, but the complete thought was not even a full paragraph, the unit was designated as a sentence. When the relevant entry was found in a sentence together with other information not related to the particular ethnic group, or as one entry in a list, it was coded as a mention. The three units did not form a continuous scale, and therefore could not be added to one another.

PROCEDURES USED IN THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Four coders experienced in content analysis were trained to become familiar with both the classification system and the units of analysis. All four participated in reading the resource materials which constituted the independent criterion for coverage. It was desirable for every one to be familiar with the universe of possible coverage before attempting any content analysis. The coders needed to know when a passage might be dealing with the relevant ethnic group even though the group might not be labeled in the passage. Training also involved (a) practice with the coding system until a high level of consensus was reached; and (b) keeping of logs by each coder of the decisions and judgments made in arriving at a code.

Worksheets were prepared for the coding and recording of the material being content-analyzed. [The worksheet might be reproduced here in text as Figure 1]. Since the content analysis had a qualitative component to it, the coders were instructed to record the content of the passage as well as their code for the different dimensions in the classification system. This contextual description was intended to assure the eventual analysis of omissions as well as the emphases placed by the textbook on a specific content.

All coding sheets also contained full reference to the textbook being analyzed, the grade level(s) for which it was designed, the number of pages in the book as well as the page designation of each passage being recorded, and the number of units that characterized the passage. These references were intended to allow the analysts to retrieve the original raw data when necessary

for purposes of establishing the reliability of the judges. All coders were required to content-analyze the same set of books when participating in the establishment of intercoder or interjudge reliabilities. At other times the task of the analysis was divided among the four coders each of whom reviewed a different set of books. Often, effort was made to have each coder review books from different publishers and different series. However, there were times when a coder wanted to review most of the books in a given series to gain an understanding of the publisher's philosophical frame of reference.

In general, a policy was adopted of examining in its entirety each text which had been selected for the sample. This policy was consistent with the anticipation that references to the Italian-American heritage could occur on any page of a text, and that all topics with which the social studies curriculum is concerned should be of concern to the present study.

A decision was made not to analyze passages consisting of homework assignments, indices, and teachers' guides. Pictures of events, places, or people, whether they were photographs or reproductions of drawings were counted in the same way mentions of the same events, places, and people were counted when they appeared in the text. This procedure was followed if the picture itself was labeled with a single word or descriptive phrase, or if the identity of the contents of the picture was given only in the text. If, however, such pictures were accompanied by lengthy captions, the text of the caption was treated as all other texts. A caption which repeated material covered in the text, was counted as a second statement of the same material. Decorative illustrations, which typically appeared in front of a book, or at the beginning of chapters, and which were not labeled, were not counted. Material appearing in maps, charts, or time-lines which were relevant to the study, however, were counted and coded in the same way that textual materials were. Similarly, in preparing the count of pages included in the total study, pages with illustrations were counted just as pages of text. This approach was justified in light of the fact that many modern textbooks, especially at lower grade levels, seek to do a large part of their communication through graphics.

For the purposes of data recording and analysis, tables of contents and indeces at the ends of the books were ignored. They were not coded at all, and they were not counted in the total number of pages reviewed. It was decided that their inclusion would not only distort the quantitative results, but would create additional problems since some textbooks, particularly at the lower grade levels did not contain indeces.

Assignments involving external experiences, such as the preparation of reports or execution of some projects, do not directly control or communicate themselves the content of attitude-forming experiences for the students. Only if students are in fact assigned these tasks would the content of what they produced become a relevant and integral part of their experiences. Therefore, passages specifying the nature of the tasks, which might or might not be assigned by the teacher, were not included in the formal analysis. It should be mentioned, however, that the informal examination of these passages, and of the TEACHERS' GUIDES, provided the analysts with cues as to the philosophy and orientation of the texts. An assignment which suggested, for example, "Select three students whose ethnic backgound differs from yours, and find out what holidays they celebrate, and what foods are customary at those holidays," implies an ethnic philosophy closer to what has been called the "ethnic salad" rather than the "melting pot."

TEACHERS' GUIDES were not regarded to be part of the quantitative

study, although they were often reviewed for information on the instructional intent of the texts. The GUIDES were especially helpful in identifying the instructional content of texts designed for primary or elementary grades since these books used graphics extensively and contained very little written communication. It should be noted that, in the case of such books, the parts of the TEACHERS' GUIDES that were intended as text to be heard by the children were counted in the content analysis.

In some instances, coders were obliged to use TEACHERS' ANNOTATED EDITIONS. The annotated editions contain the text used by the pupils and suggestions for the teachers are printed in a different color next to the passages intended for the pupils. These editions were reviewed in lieu of the pupils' text either when the text was not available in the library, or when the analyst thought it would be qualitatively useful to see the annotations for the teachers. These annotations were not content analyzed for quantitative purposes although they were noted as part of the qualitative data and they did play a part in the final interpretation of the data.

Part of the task in the content analysis was to compare the treatment of the Italian-American group with the treatment accorded other ethnic groups, especially with regard to the valence of the treatment and the possibility of omissions. At issue was the possibility that a text which might provide inadequate coverage for the Italian-Americans might also treat other ethnic groups similarly, and might imply poor selection of content on the part of the publisher rather than bias specifically against Italian-Americans. For example, omissions of the contributions of Italian-Americans to life in the United States could be interpreted as bias against them if it occurred in a text which emphasized the contributions of other comparable ethnic groups. The same omission might be interpreted very differently in a text which did not consider contributions by any ethnic sub-groups, or mentioned the contributions of some in context, but of others in the next context thus affording each an equal amount of coverage. Thus, in undertaking to collect comparison data, the study assumed responsibility not only for determining whether there were important omissions and a greater proportion of statements reflecting one or another type of valence, but also for supplying the comparisons in the treatment of other groups so that the validity of inferences of "bias" in the treatment could be objectively examined.

The method of collecting comparative data contextually was accepted for two reasons: First, there was no rationale for selecting a single ethnic group to serve as a comparison group throughout the entire study. In other words, the treatment of neither Blacks, nor Native Americans, nor Jews, nor Anglo Saxons, Germans nor Poles by themselves could be considered appropriate as a comparison for Italian-Americans in reviewing all the textbooks. Second, textbooks vary markedly in the length and subject-matter they cover, as well as in the AD HOC choices they make in selecting examples from various possible ethnic groups. Since the samples in the textbooks may be AD HOC the most realistic approach was to analyze the book's coverage with respect to its own selections.

The coders were trained to attend to differences in the coverage of ethnicities within a given context. For example, a discussion of music enjoyed by Americans might mention musicians of many ethnic backgrounds but might neglect to mention the contributions of Fillipo, DePonte, Toscanini, Cantelli, or Sinatra, and Como. In such a situation, the coder was required to note the omission on the worksheet, and record both the context and the names of the musicians mentioned in the text. Another form of omission was noted where an

individual might be mentioned, but might not be identified as belonging to the specific ethnic group. For example, Ella Grasso could be mentioned as the first elected woman governor in United States, but the text might treat her in the context of women's contributions without identifying her ethnic affiliation. Such an omission, of itself, would not be considered biased, if the text, in fact adhered to the "melting pot" philosophy throughout its entire coverage. If, on the other hand, the text identified J.F. Kennedy as being an Irish-American the omission about E. Grasso might take on a new meaning. And if, the ethnic identity of Italian-Americans were to be consistently omitted when many others were mentioned, the cumulative data might point to a degree of bias.

The procedure of coding and recording data both qualitatively and quantitatively as described above, yielded records on sets of code sheets identifying all the categorical and comparative elements described. These records constituted the raw data which were then subjected to both qualitative interpretations and quantitative analyses. Eventually, quantitative summaries reduced 600 pages of raw data to 60 pages of frequencies reported later in describing the findings.

DETERMINING THE INTERCODER RELIABILITIES

Intercoder reliability was defined earlier as the degree to which the coders' notations and codes corresponded to one another's when all coders analyzed the same textbooks. The percent of agreement among the coders was used as the index of reliability. Such indices were established between pairs of coders at the start of the study to assure that all coders understood the task, the coding system, the units of analysis, and that all made similar judgments in their coding procedure.

The reliability indeces were calculated on the basis of the variables listed below:

a. page numbers specified on the code sheets;
b. the contextual material copied down for each designated page;
c. the type and number of units of analysis used by the coder;
d. the combination of codes assigned to each segment where each code represented a dimension in the classification system.

The first time the reliabilities were checked, the indices ranged from 50 percent to 65 percent agreement among the four coders. These were considered too low to be acceptable, and additional training was conducted to assure higher reliabilities. After the second round of training, the coders again analyzed a sample of books. This time the reliability indices ranged from 85 percent to 96 percent on the variables mentioned, and they were accepted as sufficiently high for the coders to proceed with the analysis independently of one another. However, often the coders would meet and discuss their work, and their judgments, and when a specific question arose, there was a great deal of consultation among the members of the team. This continuous contact and discussion helped maintain the desired levels of agreement among the judges.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE METHOD

The method of content-analysis applied to the study of how social studies textbooks treat ethnicity was a very comprehensive one. It not only used a very large sample of textbooks, but attended to all the issues that concern a systematic analysis combining qualitative and quantitative methods.

It served a heuristic purpose in allowing the researchers to make some qualitative observations that were not initially included in the predetermined classification system.

The present study provides some evidence that systematic examination of textbooks through content-analysis can provide objective evidence concerning such questions as the adequacy of coverage in a textbook, the ways in which the content-material of interest is treated, whether or not the content of the book matches the claims of the stated objectives, and whether or not the text has some underlying philosophy which is never made explicit, but may be inferred from the results of the analysis.

The method had been applied earlier to the study of elementary school language arts texts to determine whether or not their content met the higher cognitive objectives of instruction. (Kaya-Carton, E.4 m A Content Analysis of Elementary Level Language Arts Texts, 0 m Unpublished Report to the Ford Foundation,1970). Although the study was never published, it helped several school districts involved in the study make some rational decisions in the selection of textbooks which met their own objectives. Also, since 1970 when the report was disseminated widely, textbook publishers have manifested much more concern with the inquiry skills and higher cognitive objectives. Yet a great deal of criticism has been directed to textbooks in the news in recent months by various educational groups. Some of these criticisms still concern the inability of texts to address the high cognitive and inquiry skills, others concern the inclusion of inaccurate information or poor usage of English. While the critics cite examples of their claims, no systematic studies have been reported to determine the degree to which these claims are valid. Undoubtedly the textbook publishers as well as the educators and critics would benefit from the application of a systematic content analysis to provide the kind of evidence needed for sound rational decisions.

The application of rigorous research methods to the collection and interpretation of both qualitative and quantitative data has assured both the validity and the reliability of the findings obtained in this study. Consequently the findings serve a very useful purpose both in helping educators and publishers, and in demonstrating the power of the method.These findings are presented and discussed in Chapter III; the educational implications of the findings are discussed in chapter IV.

CHAPTER III: TREATMENT OF ETHNICITY IN THE TEXTBOOKS: RESULTS OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION.

A systematic and comprehensive study of the magnitude described in the earlier chapters has to yield numerous findings. This chapter is devoted to the presentation and review of a large portion of these findings. The quantitative summary table of frequencies obtained from the content analysis is presented in Table 1. This frequency table represents both the qualitative data recorded in anecdotal form on the worksheets and codified for purposes of quantification, and the quantified records based on the units of analysis.

Findings reported below are derived from several sources: (a) the summary table of frequencies, (b) the comparison of the content material covered in the resource materials with the actual coverage in the textbooks, (c) an examination of the degree and type of coverage provided by each textbook publisher, and (d) additional qualitative observations of the analysts which were recorded, and are available as raw data, but which were not themselves codified and quantified because they did not fall in the domain of the classification system used in the analysis.

-- Insert Summary Table of Frequencies --

COMPARISON OF COVERAGE IN TEXTBOOKS AND IN RESOURCE MATERIALS

One of the first questions raised concerning the treatment of ethnicity in social studies textbooks concerned the degree to which the textbooks covered material relevant to any ethnic group. Of the 320 books, totaling 78,506 pages, that were analyzed, 129 or 40 percent had NO mention of anything related to Italian-Americans and their heritage. The other 191 had varying amount of coverage, ranging from only one mention in a whole book to an entire book of 48 pages being devoted to Marco Polo. The latter was one book in a series of fourteen books published by Allyn and Bacon, each dealing with a different explorer. Of the fourteen books of similar sizes, one was devoted to Marco Polo, another to Columbus. Given that the series included twelve books having nothing to do with Italians or Italian-Americans, it would be more appropriate to conclude that, in this series, about 14 percent of the published material dealt with the topic of concern than to say that two books had 100 percent coverage. It is such variations in book size and purposes of a given series which supported the rationale of selecting pages, rather than books, as the unit of analysis.

The 191 books which had any coverage at all totaled 60,870 pages. The total number of pages that dealt with the topic, however, constituted 1.8 percent of this total. If one considers the total of 78,506 pages, the percentage of pages with coverage of the material would be reduced to 1.4 percent. Thus, one may safely conclude that the overall coverage of material related to the particular ethnic group was rather small. This degree of coverage applied to other ethnic groups as well. In fact some ethnic groups, such as the Turkish Americans had even less coverage than the Italian Americans who were the focus of the study. Thus, the sparsity of the coverage may not be attributed to any bias on the part of the publishers. Possibly other factors might explain this low level of coverage.

The review and content analysis of the books clearly indicates that the content of the social studies curriculum is very extensive. It includes information about various cultures, events, places and people, and about the social, economic, political, religious, aesthetic, psychological, and other cultural principles that govern or predict the experiences of mankind. Such information was labeled as descriptivist earlier in Chapter I. The curriculum and the textbooks also serve a prescriptive purpose, and must include material that inculcates values, attitudes, and expectations consistent with the ideals of a democratic society. Furthermore, they must mediate the cognitive and affective growth of children and youngsters by allocating space to such cognitive skills as problem solving, inquiry, and evaluation, and such social and affective skills as interacting with others in a cooperative and socially desirable manner, while at the same time developing leadership skills and healthy competetive values. In this broad spectrum of necessary content coverage, devoting 1.4 percent of the pages to the content related to one ethnic group no longer seems so sparse.

There still is a question of adequacy in selecting the material for such coverage. In other words, is the material covered in the textbooks a valid sample of the available universe of content from which selections may be made? The findings of the content analysis cast some doubt on the adequacy of the selected material.

The discussion that follows is presented in the same chronological order that the Summary Table of Frequencies is organized. This Table specifies the topics that were included in textbooks and indicates the total number of books which had the coverage as well as the valence and units associated with that coverage. The material that is not covered, however, but was found in the resource materials is presented below to clarify for the reader reasons for doubting the adequacy of the content which the textbooks have selected for inclusion.

The results show that the historical topics related to the heritage of the Italian-Americans receive much larger coverage than the information concerning their experiences in and contributions to America. Information related to Ancient Rome and the Romans, their history, contributions, achievements and language was extensive and as complete as could be expected. Table 2 presents the rank-order of the five most frequently topics concerning Italian-Americans and their heritage.

Table 2. Rank-order of the five most frequently covered topics.

Topics	No.of books covering the topic	Percentage of books with coverage
Columbus	91	47
Ancient Rome	57	30
Italy circa World War II	53	28
New Immigrants post 1800s	52	27
John Cabot	43	22

Even in the historical topics, however, the Italian-American heritage is not always made clear; there are instances where important figures mentioned are not identified as Italians. For example, instances occurred where Galileo Galilei was discussed, his theories and contributions were cited, but he was not identified as Italian. Yet in surrounding passages the theories of Copernicus were discussed, and Copernicus was identified as a Polish astronomer Likewise, the artists of the Renaissance were included in the textbooks as well

as their patrons, but they were not always identified as Italians. Most textbooks identified Leonardo DaVinci as an Italian artist, sculptor, and inventor, while other famous artists of the period were simply mentioned without any further identification.

The explorers received perhaps the most comprehensive coverage because they appeared generally in both elementary and secondary textbooks. Christopher Columbus, and John Cabot were among the five most frequently mentioned explorers found in the textbooks. Yet, there is little or no reference to their ethnic identity. That Christopher Columbus is not identified as Italian may be justified by the fact that the Spanish have also claimed him, and the textbooks may well not want to get involved in this controversy. On the other hand, the particular controversy would appear to be just the kind of content that a social studies textbook might wish to bring up in an attempt to develop inquiry and/or discussion skills.

Even conceding a possible justification in not mentioning the national identity of Columbus, one would be hard put to find any justification for not identifying John Cabot's national affiliation. When Verrazano or Vespucci were not identified as Italian, one could ascribe the omission to a presumption that the surnames are suggestive enough to make the identification redundant. In the case of John Cabot, however, who is mentioned to have sailed under English auspices, the reader is more likely to conclude, erroneously, that he might have been English. Especially since no textbook has mentioned that his real name was Giavonni Caboto, one cannot help wondering if the authors or publishers of the textbooks were even knowledgeable of John Cabot's ethnicity. Since it was found that one textbook identified Magellan erroneously as Italian, the suspicion raised about the knowledge of textbook writers and/or publishers becomes quite plausible.

Catholic missionary Eusebio Kino was not mentioned in the textbooks reviewed except in one book by Ciardiello, himself an Italian, titled, Pluralism in America: Ten Ethnic Profiles. Kino is an Italian-American who explored the region of the Colorado River to the Gulf of Mexico. He organized missions and introduced farming and livestock to the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. He has been credited with starting the cattle industry in the Southwest. Thus, there are several contexts in which he and his contributions could be discussed in a social studies textbook.

Another figure who received coverage only by Ciardello is Enrico Tonti. He served as an assistant to the French explorer LaSalle in the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. He claimed with LaSalle the Louisiana Territory for France. On another expedition he separated from the group and built a fort and trading post at the junction of Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers. This was the first European settlement in Arkansas and Tonti has been called the "Father of Arkansas."

Little or no coverage has been afforded to the early Italian-Americans. Anyone reading these textbooks would come away with the feeling that there were no Italians living in Colonial America. Yet, according to the resource materials, this was not the case. Although their number was small, the contributions of Italians in this period were significant. In 1610 Italians arrived in Jamestown and began the cultivation of the grapevine for the new wine industry. In 1622 artisans from Venice set up a glassworks project in Virginia. These artisans were invited by British officials to teach their skills to young apprentices in order to continue and expand the skill. In 1671 the Governor of Virginia invited Italian silk craftsmen to settle in Virginia

and develop the silk industry in that colony. A century later, in 1770, Italian silk craftsmen were invited to setlle in Georgia and develop the silk industry there. This industry thrived for many years.

During the pre-revolutionary period, Italians lived and worked in the colonies as gardeners, cabinetmakers, small businessmen, artists, and musicians. Although music was not an important part of life in the colonies, and even was thought to be a sinful practice by those who lived in New England, many Italians were wandering musicians who toured the land and held concerts in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Early Italian settlers helped popularize classical music, and even established some schools.

No textbook had any coverage of Jefferson's relationship with Philip Mazzei, an Italian physician. Only Ciardello has a reference to it. Both men were interested in politics and government. Jefferson invited Mazzei to his home in Monticello to conduct some horticultural experiments. Both took this opportunity to discuss politics and governance in the colonies, instead. At Jefferson's invitation, Mazzei wrote some articles of protest which later were translated by Jefferson and published in newspapers and periodicals. In 1733, Mazzei urged the colonists to break from British rule. Phrases which Jefferson used in preparing the Declaration of Independence have their parallel in Mazzei's articles. Jefferson wrote, "All men are created equal." Mazzei wrote, "All men are by nature equally free and independent ... (and) equal to each other in natural rights."

Historians have discovered the names of 25 Italian army officers who fought in the American Revolutionary War, yet no mention is made of this in any of the textbooks. Only one book has mentioned Giuseppe Vigo, a wealthy fur trader, who was a friend of George Rogers Clark, the commander of the forces in the West during the war, and who joined with Clark to drive the British out of the Mississippi Valley serving as a scout and a spy. He allowed himself to be captured by the British at Vincennes. He then convinced the British that he was neutral, and was released. He then returned to Clark and urged him to attack on the basis of the information he had gathered. The Americans defeated the British at Vincennes thus doubling the size of the American territory. Vigo was recognized for his contributions by George Washington, who also sought Vigo's advice on military measures in the West. President Franklin D. Roosevelt also praised the Italian hero in a declaration in 1941 recognizing him as a patriot and a war hero. Textbooks do not mention that Italians have participated heroically in every war in which America has fought.

The participation of Italians in the Westward expansion of the 1800s and the role of Italians in the building of the railroads and in the development of wine industry in the West are mentioned only in passing or not at all. Garibaldi's role in the American Civil War, and his correspondence with President Lincoln are also neglected items.

Between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, many Italians came to this country, among them musicians and artists. These people influenced American music not only by their organ grinders' street music, but also in more serious ways as prominent musicians. The U.S. Marine Band was directed by Francis M. Scala, an Italian. The first American Conservatory of Music was founded by Filippo Traetta in Bostom in 1803, and the New York Opera Company was founded in 1883 by Lorenzo de Ponte.

The work of fresco painter Constantino Brumidi is there for public viewing for anyone who has taken a tour of the Capitol building in Washington,

D.C.. Yet the textbooks do not mention that he is the "Artist of the Capitol," who decorated the 300 foot high dome of the Capitol building, painted the murals on the walls in chambers of the House of Representatives, and started the work on the panels surrounding the rotunda. He worked for 25 years decorating the Capitol building and died before completing the work.

The period of immigration between 1880-1924 is covered in textbooks in various ways. Some texts treated immigration during this period without regard to different experiences of different ethnic groups. The groups were merely listed, and problems concerning such factors as living conditions, employment, family relations, and social stereotyping were generalized and were discussed for all groups combined. Discrimination directed to ethnic groups was usually presented in a general statement, and the texts referred to such methods of discrimination as the "quota system" in allowing immigrants to enter the country, "literacy tests," wage cuts, and other unfair practices applied to the the aliens.

Other texts treated the problems of different groups separately. References were made to "Little Italy, "Chinatown, "Germantown," and other ghettos, describing life and problems in each. These texts also traced the formation of nationality groups in the U.S. cities, and described the development of the neighborhood life in the ghetto.

Some books made specific reference to Italian-Americans. These texts explained the reasons for the immigration, and described the immigrants coming from different parts of Italy. Generally, immigrants coming from Northern Italy were portrayed as having a specific trade or skill, while those coming from the South were portrayed as unskilled laborers and farmers who had left their native land for economic reasons. These books described the trip from Italy as well as the arrival and experiences in Ellis Island. There were descriptions of the "padrone system" which evolved during these years, and accounts of how the newcomers were exploited by their own countrymen. A detailed description was also included of life in the tenement, employment or lack of it, family life and strife, and alienation within the community. There were accounts of how the Italian immigrant was treated unfairly by the employer, how the idea of "home work" began and why it continued. The role of children as workers who provided income for the family was made explicit in accounts of how children learned to work at a young age: Boys made deliveries, shined shoes, and sold newspapers, while the girls usually worked at home with their mother, sewing, packing items, or working on hand crafts such as embroidery or lace. Italian girls were portrayed as following a tradition of remaining under the watchful eyes of their mother and not being encouraged to work as domestics, while for the Irish and Blacks this did not seem to present a problem.

On the whole, many of the textbooks covering this period left out the specifics concerning the ethnic groups in general and Italian-Americans in particular. They covered only superficially the problems of Italian-Americans, and made only general references to the contributions of these people to the building of roads, railroads, subways, tunnels, bridges, and buildings, and to the development of the clothing industry. The resource materials, on the other hand, treated the material with much greater depth and detail. For example, only twice was Mother Cabrini mentioned in the textbooks for the spiritual work, comfort, and aid she provided the Italian-American community. The resource books not only gave a much more detailed account of her life and accomplishments; they described in detail many like her who managed to improve conditions for others and who achieved their aspirations for a better life for

themselves and for their children. Some of the references given in the resource materials included accounts of Italian settlements that sprung up in Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and California. In many of these areas the Italian-Americans worked as truck farmers, not only growing the fruit and vegetables but also as business people selling them. Through this venture they were instrumental in introducing new products to the American market such as broccoli, eggplants, artichokes, and cantaloupes.

There is little reference in the textbooks, if any, to the anti-Italian riots and violent acts of discrimination. The resource books, on the other hand, tell of Italians that were lynched or murdered in many areas. In New Orleans, in 1891, eleven Italian-Americans were accused of murdering the Irish chief of police. The results of the trial found the accused men innocent. Yet, 5000 citizens rallied together, entered the jail, and shot, clubbed, and hung the "dagoes." This attack on the Italian-American community, as many others which took place in different parts of the country, was the result of negative stereotyping of the emebers of this ethnic group. In many cases the media magnified any crime possibly committed by an Italian-American, or one attributed to the Italian-American community. Yet, studies have shown that the crime rate among Italian-Americans was not any greater than the crime rate in other ethnic groups.

Textbooks had many references to Italy during the periods of World War I, WW II, and post WW II. Yet, no mention was made of Italian-Americans and their contributions to the defense of America during this time. The resource books tell of how young Italian-American men joined the army, of the pride their parents expressed at having sons in the armed forces, and of how the able women joined the work-force. They describe the initial positive attitude Italian-Americans had toward Mussolini, and the change in that attitude as Mussolini's promises for Italy failed and finally United States entered WWII.

Many notable Italian-American figures in politics, science, banking, sports, entertainment, and industry of the 20th century were not mentioned in textbooks except in Ciardello's book. Among those mentioned, as specified in the Summary Table of Frequencies, were John J. Sirica, Peter Rodino, John Pastore, Peter Domenici, Ella Grosso, Fiorello La Guardia, Angelo Rossi, and Robert Maestri. It is interesting to note that when books referred to Ella Grosso, it was to explain that she was the first woman to be elected as governor, and not once did any textbook mention that she was an Italian-American.

In the sciences physicist Enrico Fermi was identified in some books for his work on the atomic bomb although Eugene F. Fubini, who served on Fermi's research team was mentioned only in Ciardello's book. Likewise, references to physicist Emilio Segre, a Nobel prize winner for his work in the structure of matter, and biologist Salvador Luria, recognized for controlling the growth of certain bacteria, were very few.

Most sports references only mentioned Joe DiMaggio. He was recognized for his accomplishments in baseball, yet he was never identified as an Italian-American. References to other sports figures of Italian background were found only in Ciardello's book.

In the field of entertainment, a number of musicians, composers, conductors, singers, and actors were mentioned, but were rarely identified as Italian-Americans. Those mentioned included Rudolf Valentino, Arturo Toscanini, Gian-Carlo Menotti, Enrico Caruso, Henry Mancini, Carmen Cavallero, Frank

Sinatra, Dean Martin, Perry Como, Tony Bennett, Vic Damone, and Bobby Darin.

The founder of the Bank of America, Amadeo pietro Giannini, was only mentioned in a few books. The bank had been called the Bank of Italy, and had had many branches in California until it became the Bank of America in 1930. The assistance Giannini provided for those victims of the San Fransisco earthquake and fire helped rebuild many homes and businesses.

Patsy D'Agostino was a pushcart vendor of vegetables and fruits in Harlem. During the depression, he saved enough money from his peddling and opened a grocery store. This store eventually grew into the chain of D'Agostino's supermarkets in New York. Amadeo Ofici as a youngster sold fruits, vegetables, and roasted peanuts. He found the roasted peanuts to be very popular and devoted his time exclusively to roasting, packaging, and selling the peanuts. His small scale business eventually developed into the Planters Peanuts Company. These success stories of Italian-Americans and their part in shaping American business were found only in the book by Ciardello. Yet, they could provide excellent curricular material for motivating youngsters to take initiatives and to develop an optimistic economic outlook for themselves.

The inadequacy of content coverage in the textbooks applied to all ethnic groups, and was not limited to the Italian-Americans. Most of the books did not deal with such topics as the development of supermarkets, for example. Only once was there a mention of how the A&P Company developed, and again, it had no contextual reference to any ethnic group. Such omissions of broad topics which may or may not have any ethnic reference seemed to the analysts to be more the result of poor content-sampling than any intentional bias for or against any given ethnic group.

In general several types of omissions were discernible. First was the complete omission of an individual or event which, had it been included, would have enriched or enhanced the understanding of the ethnic group and its heritage. Most of the omissions discussed in the above comparison of textbook coverage with the available content given in the resource books would fall in this category. Although most omissions of this type manifested no identifiable pattern, the omission concerning Italian-American experience from circa 1600 to 1840 in almost every textbook was striking. One would think that Italian-Americans did not exist in America prior to the "new immigration" period. The omission is not limited to Italian-Americans, however. For this period, one finds very few mentions of ethnicities other than West European.

The second type of omission concerned the identification of an individual as belonging to a particular ethnic group. This type of omission was found to be more prevalent in books that adhered to the philosophy of United States being the "melting pot," rather than the "ethnic salad." Although the coverage in these books included contributions of many people and events to various aspects of American life, it seemed to studiously avoid identifying ethnic affiliations associated with them.

The third type of omission was prevalent in most of the textbooks reviewed. They all seemed to avoid topics which might be interpreted as having negative valence, or which might prove offensive to one group or another. This type of omission was so widespread that it suggested a gentlemen's agreement to take a POSITIVE approach to ethnicly identifiable topics.

EXAMINATION OF COVERAGE BY PUBLISHERS

Where inadequacies and omissions were observed in content coverage of

textbooks, the natural question that occured to the researchers was the possibility of bias on the part of some or all publishers. Although most omissions did not manifest any specific contextual pattern, except in the case of items with a possible negative valence, further analysis seemed to be needed concerning the possible role played by the publishers in the selection of content material for coverage.

There were 32 publishers represented in the sample of textbooks and series selected for review. Twelve of the 32 had some coverage concerning Italian-Americans in all of their books included in the sample. Each book had at least one mention related to the relevant material. A list of the 12 publishers is given in Table 3 together with the number of each publisher's books included in the review sample. Although all of the books in this list were classified as textbooks, in those instances where a publisher had only one text included in the sample, the book could have served as a supplementary, rather than regularly used, textbook.

Table 3. Publishers with 100 percent of their books in the sample having some coverage concerning Italian-Americans.

Publisher	Number of books in the sample
AMSCO	3
Bowmar-Noble	3
Century Communications	1
Cultural Puertoriquera	1
Economy Company	1
Fleet Press	1
Globe and Modern Curriculum Press	4
Harper and Row	5
Heath	1
McGraw Hill	1
Publicaciones Cultural	1
Silver Burdett	13

Of the remaining 20 publishers three had no coverage relevant to the topic in any of their books, and 17 had some coverage in some of their books but not in others. These 20 publishers are listed in Table 4. The Table also lists, by grade level, the number of books by each publisher that were observed to have no relevant coverage whatever, and the proportion of these to the total number of that publisher's books included in the review sample. For example, Addison Wesley had a total of 12 books that did not have any coverage. These 12 books constituted 63 percent of the 19 books published by Addison Wesley which were included in the review sample. Of the 12 with no coverage, five were intended for the elementary school level, and constituted 45 percent of 11 books for that level; 7 were intended for the junior high school level and constituted 88 percent of 8 books for that level; there were no Addison Wesley publications in the review sample intended for the high school level. Some of the books listed as "secondary level" were specifically for the high school grades of 10-12; others were classified by the publisher as being appropriate for the secondary level without specification of grades. Therefore, some of the books included in this level may have been appropriate for grades 7-12, and not only the high school level.

The three publishers that had no relevant coverage were Benefic, Guiness, and Rand McNally. Benefic and Guiness each had one book in the sample, and Rand McNally had a total of three books. These latter three were all related to map-making and map-reading skills. In light of the vast content possible to include in the social studies curricular content, it is not

surprising to find 3, or less than 10 percent of the publishers, had no coverage related to the particular ethnic group.

-- Insert Table 4 --

Publishers also varied with regard to the degree of content coverage relevant to the topic. It will be remembered that the units used in the content analysis were pages, sentences, and mentions about the ethnic group. Although it is important to note the numbers and percentages of books that did and did not have relevant content coverage, the statistical analyses could only be performed on the data quantified by the units of analysis. Table 5 gives a breakdown of the content coverage by each publisher, and shows the numbers of pages, sentences, and mentions for each publisher at each educational level that were coded as factual, positive, or negative.

-- Insert Table 5 --

An examination of Table 5 indicates that in most cases the books had many more instances of factually stated material than of positively or negatively evaluated content. A statistical analysis using Chi-square methods showed that the proportions of factual information given (whether they be in numbers of pages, or sentences, or mentions) were significantly greater at .01 level than proportions of positively or negatively evaluated information. This finding becomes clearer if one reviews the totals presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Total numbers of pages, sentences, and mentions concerning Italian-Americans and their heritage at each educational level.

Educ. Level	Total No.of Books	Total No.of Pages in Books	Coverage								
			Pages			Sentences			Mentions		
			Fact.	Neg.	Pos.	Fact.	Neg.	Pos.	Fact.	Neg.	Pos.
Elementary	86	25946	588.2	7.4	162.0	135	0	10	336	1	8
Jr. High	30	9343	47.3	3.8	19.7	52	5	7	218	2	7
Secondary	75	25581	182.0	22.5	69.6	149	16	9	492	27	51
Total	191	60870	817.5	33.7	251.3	336	21	26	1046	30	66
Grand total of units			1102.5			383			1142		

As indicated in Table 6, 74 percent of the pages covering the relevant topic provided factual information. Three percent had negatively evaluative material, and 23 percent had material of positive valence. Under sentences, 88 percent of the coverage was judged as factual, 5 percent as negatively evaluative, and 7 percent as positively evaluative.Of the mentions, 91 percent of the coverage was classified as factual, 3 percent as negatively evaluative, and 6 percent as positively evaluative. The differences between numbers of positive and negative evaluative coverage were significant for both pages, and mentions, but not for sentences. These quantitative data show that the social studies texts provided mostly factual information, and little

evaluative material. Nevertheless, where evaluative statements or mentions were observed, these were largely positive, pointing to the avoidance of material that might prove controversial.

There were some interesting differences among publishers and the nature of the coverage they provided in their books for different grade levels. A striking example of such differences may be found in Table 5. The books published by Houghton Mifflin for the secondary school level had proportionately more pages with negative rather than positively evaluative content (9.2 pages of negative vs. .93 pages of positive). This reversal in trend could not be interpreted without examining the raw data of the actual coverage. The content coverage given below turned out to account for the observed frequency of pages with negative coverage.

Seven pages in two different books dealt with Italy and Mussolini, referring to the organization of fascists, emergence of Mussolini as a dictator, declaration of war on the United States, and referred to the aggressive activities in Africa. One page in one book dealt with how the Europeans resented the control of trade routes by Italian cities such as Venice and Florence. Half a page in another book was devoted to Edward Corsi's account of his own feelings concerning life in that period. A half a page was devoted to how the prohibition led to increase in organized crime and the role of Al Capone in Chicago, and a fifth of a page was devoted to Hoffa in the context of corruption in the Union.

Several issues need explanation concerning these passages that were found in one textbook series. First, although these were all published in the Houghton Mifflin texts, they were also published in other secondary level textbooks but not in the same degree of concentration. One publisher might cover Mussolini as a dictator, for example, and another might refer to the domination of trade routes by Italian cities.

Second, there may be a marginal difference between factual content with negative connotation for Americans and content that is negatively presented regardless of the connotation of its factual content. For example, fascism and dictatorship have negative valence for most Americans, but to describe an organization as fascist, may be perfectly factual. When these terms are not used as descriptors that are necessary for the statement of a factual event but are used as value-loaded adjectives to communicate a feeling of disapproval, their function changes from factual reporting to evaluative description. While the content analysts were trained to make these fine differentiations, the authors of some of these passages might well have thought they were reporting facts, and not their own value judgments. Or, they might have been well-aware of the evaluative aspect of their writing, but may have preferred to be prescriptive in developing such values in the students. Since the content analysis cannot provide the basis for deciding which explanation may be accurate, the caveat in interpreting the data is necessary to prevent possibly erroneous conclusions of publisher bias or distortion of facts.

Third, the observed reversal of trend, as well as the larger proportion of negative statements in general, occurs at the secondary level, not at the elementary level. The implication may be that students at the secondary level are expected to be more analytic and to be exposed to evaluative judgments of both a positive and negative nature. In other words, there seems to be a tendency to expose younger children to mostly positively oriented facts or statements, sparing them the conflicts between facts and values. Exposure to dilemmas and to conflicting values for older students

Table 4. Number and Proportions of Textbooks with No Mention of Italian-Americans or Italy.

III-9-A

Publisher	Elementary			Jr. High			Secondary			Total		
	No. of Books	No. of Books with Coverage	Percentage	No. of Books	No. of Books with Coverage	Percentage	No. of Books	No. of Books with Coverage	Percentage	No. of Books	No. of Books with Coverage	Percentage
Addison Wesley	11	5	.45	8	7	.88	0	0	-	19	12	.63
Allyn & Bacon	43	27	.63	13	2	.15	31	12	.39	87	41	.47
American Book Co.	6	4	.66	0	0	-	7	1	.14	13	5	.38
Benefic	1	1	1.00	0	0	-	0	0	-	1	1	1.00
Benziger	0	0	-	7	1	.14	0	0	-	7	1	.14
Fideler	6	3	.50	0	0	-	0	0	-	6	3	.50
Follet	9	4	.44	0	0	-	0	0	-	9	4	.44
Ginn	6	1	.17	1	0	-	5	1	.20	12	2	.17
Guiness	1	1	1.00	0	0	-	0	0	-	1	1	1.00
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	6	1	.17	7	4	.57	3	1	.33	16	6	.38
Holt Rhinehart & Winston	12	6	.50	0	0	-	1	0	-	13	6	.46
Houghton Mifflin	6	2	.33	1	0	-	14	5	.36	21	7	.33
Laidlaw	6	3	.50	0	0	-	1	0	-	7	3	.43
MacMillan	6	2	.33	0	0	-	3	1	.33	9	3	.33
Prentice Hall	0	0	-	1	0	-	12	4	.33	13	4	.31
Rand McNally	3	3	1.00	0	0	-	0	0	-	3	3	1.00
Sadlier Oxford	0	0	-	6	2	.33	3	1	.33	9	3	.33
Scholastic Book Service	13	11	.85	7	3	.43	0	0	-	20	14	.70
Scientific Research Assoc.	6	2	.33	0	0	-	1	0	-	7	2	.29
Scott Foresman	9	5	.56	0	0	-	2	0	-	11	5	.45

Table 5. Breakdown of coverage by publisher, educational level, amount of coverage, and type of evaluative treatment.

Publisher	Grade	Total Books	Total Pages of Books	Coverage								
				Pages			Sentences			Mentions		
				Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive
Addison Wesley	Elem.	6	1862	91.13	0	3.15	8	0	1	22	0	0
	Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Allyn Bacon	Elem.	16	3626	185.40	0	17.83	19	0	0	62	0	2
	Jr.	11	3184	3.50	2.06	4.71	29	5	6	95	2	2
	Sec.	19	5471	22.87	2.54	15	13	5	1	62	9	4
American Book Company	Elem.	2	845	13.50	0	7.34	10	0	0	35	0	0
	Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sec.	6	1251	.80	1.13	1.50	0	0	0	35	1	0
AMSCO	Elem.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sec.	3	1037	2.03	.88	0	4	3	0	14	1	0
Benefic (No Coverage)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Benziger	Elem.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sec.	6	1830	11.79	0	5.05	2	3	1	33	3	8
Bowmar-Noble	Elem.	1	447	12.25	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0
	Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sec.	2	689	0	0	1	0	0	0	10	0	0

Table 5. (Continued)

Publisher	Grade	Total Books	Total Pages of Books	Coverage								
				Pages			Sentences			Mentions		
				Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive
Century Communications	Jr.	1	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Cultural Puertorriquera	Elem.	1	131	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economy Company	Elem.	1	463	.67	0	5	0	0	0	8	0	0
Fideler	Elem.	3	630	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0
Fleet Press	Jr.	1	90	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Follett	Elem.	4	1498	48.05	6	16.70	10	0	0	12	0	0
	Jr.	1	455	11.98	0	6.87	0	0	0	9	0	0
	Sec.	1	602	15.27	0	0	15	0	0	38	0	0
Ginn	Elem.	5	1685	17.69	1.13	40	25	0	7.	11	0	2
	Jr.	1	125	1.33	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
	Sec.	4	638	2.25	0	.33	5	0	0	16	0	0
Globe and Globe and Modern Curriculum Press	Elem.	3	1071	41.36	0	1.13	11	0	0	16	0	0
	Sec.	1	704	1.26	.33	0	9	0	0	19		0
Guiness (No Coverage)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5. (Continued)

Publisher	Grade	Total Books	Total Pages of Books	Coverage								
				Pages			Sentences			Mentions		
				Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive
Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich	Elem.	5	1046	6.28	0	1	7	0	0	8	0	0
	Jr.	3	975	6.52	.50	4.13	0	0	1	36	0	2
	Sec.	2	1232	5.59	.50	.25	6	3	0	26	3	0
Harper and Row	Jr.	1	693	4.29	0	.45	2	0	0	15	0	0
	Sec.	4	3039	43.96	.17	5.08	33	0	1	103	3	3
Heath	Jr.	1	579	5.80	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0
Holt, Rinehart and Winston	Elem.	6	1881	39.91	0	3.67	4	0	1	14	0	1
	Sec.	1	680	1.10	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
Houghton Mifflin	Elem.	4	1502	2.60	0	0	2	0	0	26	0	1
	Jr.	1	718	4.25	.20	0	6	0	0	8	0	1
	Sec.	9	3423	19.07	9.20	.93	31	1	1	39	4	3
Laidlaw	Elem.	3	1211	19.70	.30	.10	4	0	0	15	0	0
	Sec.	1	694	3.30	.10	.20	1	0	0	7	0	0
MacMillan	Elem.	4	1743	8.20	0	30.50	2	0	0	15	0	1
	Sec.	2	612	2.30	3	12.10	5	0	0	42	0	1
McGraw-Hill	Elem.	1	448	19.46	0	0	7	0	1	9	0	0

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Table 5. (continued)

Publisher	Grade	Total Books	Total Pages of Books	Coverage								
				Pages			Sentences			Mentions		
				Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive	Factual	Negative	Positive
Prentice Hall	Jr.	1	364	2.75	0	0	4	0	0	7	0	0
	Sec.	8	954	5.13	0	.13	7	3	2	6	0	0
Publicaciones Cultural	Elem.	1	167	4.92	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
Rand McNally (No Coverage)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sadlier Oxford	Jr.	4	759	5.73	1	.50	6	0	0	20	0	2
	Sec.	2	649	7.85	1.50	6	0	0	2	4	2	31
Scholastic Book Service	Elem.	2	400	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Jr.	2	370	.12	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Scientific Research Associates	Elem.	4	1280	8.72	0	4	13	0	0	22	0	0
	Sec.	1	721	32.30	0	22	4	1	1	19	0	0
Scott Foresman	Elem.	5	1140	20	0	0	2	0	0	14	0	0
	Sec.	2	691	2	0	0	2	0	0	7	0	1
Silver Burdett	Elem.	9	2874	45.36	0	28.63	10	0	0	34	0	1
	Jr.	2	895	1	0	3	0	0	0	5	0	0
	Sec.	1	664	3.18	.20	0	9	0	0	10	0	0

seems to constitute a natural part of the social studies curriculum. Viewed in this developmental context, the differences in coverage at the two levels may be more readily attributable to the psycho-educational expectations of the authors and publishers than bias or distortions on their part.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS.

Often, a certain amount of subjectivity is expected in interpreting quantitative data. The discussion presented above is undoubtedly based on quantitative data although it may well be guilty of some subjective interpretation. The researchers had additional observations which could not be attributed to any quantitative data, but which were noted with considerable consistency among different individuals. Omissions in content and in negatively loaded factual information constituted one area about which every researcher had some observations and comments.

In the judgment of the researchers, the omissions in content coverage are attributable more to inadequate sampling than bias except in the case of widespread omissions of facts that had a negative connotation to the ethnic groups being discussed. Although the above discussion of issues would prevent premature and judgmental inferences to be drawn from the findings, the widespread avoidance of negative FACTS concerning ethnic groups on the part of so many textbooks was inescapable. Such selection of mainly positive facts may point to a possible bias expressed loudly through silence. It certainly casts doubt on whether the textbooks in fact meet their own objectives of being impartial, objective, and truly descriptive of facts.

On the prescriptive dimension, one cannot help wondering what kind of values and affect are communicated to the readers who may be aware of those omissions. Would the student who is knowledgeable of both the positive and negative facts concerning an ethnic group become suspicious of the credibility of the textbook which stresses only the positive? And if one considers the naive reader whose knowledge is being shaped by the textbook only, should we not be concerned with the possibility that this student may get a lopsided positive view of the world which can only lead to confusion when the student encounters the reality? Unfortunately discrepancies between facts learned from texts and those experienced in real life may cast doubt on the validity and reliability of these textbooks as educational tools. The student may learn that facts themselves may be used to distort reality.

The factual treatment of ethnic material as described above was noted by the researchers as being rather superficial. They seemed to equate being factual with being impartial and accurate regardless of the conscious or unconscious omissions of important facts. Thus, in their attempt to be descriptive, the textbooks were largely devoid of affect. They did not share certain characteristics of some resource materials which were both factually comprehensive and intense in communicating affect. The type of personal and emotive writing in Gambino's "Blood of my Blood," for example, can create in the reader an empathy for the Italian- American feelings which, in turn, can bring about a deeper understanding of the factual events. Many of the resource materials studied were very useful in supplementing the reviewers' knowledge of factual material by the affective context which served to enrich the readers' sophistication. One might argue that a textbook should not communicate affect. Yet, it is hard to see how development of values, such as sympathy or understanding for others, may be developed by omitting both the affectively powerful means of communication and the negatively evaluated facts.

Comprehensiveness of coverage was found to be another characteristic

in which textbooks were deficient. The differences in content covered by the resource materials and that covered by the textbooks were discussed under the quantitative results. It was also noted that by virtue of the extensiveness of material to be covered, and the multiplicity of objectives that must be met, limitations in coverage could be attributed justifiably to lack of space. Yet, the reviewers could not help noticing an unjustifiable lack of balance in the space devoted to ancient civilizations and explorers on the one hand, and the contributions of ethnic Americans in more recent times to our current life. It seemed to the researchers that the former could be reduced without any loss of important information, and that the increase in the coverage of more recent contributions might have more relevance to educational objectives.

Of the resource materials seven in particular were found to be very helpful in formulating a comprehensive description of topics, specifically in relation to the Italian- American experience in the United States. These were:

1. Hall, Stephen S. Italian Americans coming into their own. New York Times Magazine. May 15, 1983, 28-58.
2. Iorizzo, L.J. and Mondello, S. The Italin Americans. Boston: Twanyne Publishers, 1980.
3. Musmanno, M.A. The Story of the Italians in America New York: Doubleday and Co., 1965.
4. Scarpaci, V. A Portrait of the Italians in America New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1982.
5. Study Guide on Italian Americans Published by the United Federation of Teachers, 260 Park Ave. South, N.Y. 10010.
6. Tomasi, L.F. (Ed) The Italian in America: The Progressive View 1891-1914. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1978.
7. Tomasi, S. and Engel, M. (Eds) Italian Experience in the U.S New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970.

A few qualitative observations may be added which were not quantitatively recorded, mainly because their observation had not been predicted at the beginning of the project. One such observation concerns the subtle, or obvious, changes in content coverage of more recently published books. The reviewers noticed that the more recently published books had more coverage related to important Italian-American events and personalities. The more recent books also tended to manifest more of the "ethnic salad" philosophy than the "melting pot" philosophy. These changes would not be reflected in quantitative findings to show any degree of statistical significance since quantitatively the coverage of these recent ethnically identified topics was so small to begin with. Therefore they can only be reported as qualitative observations.

Textbooks seem to reflect those topics that are considered important in the society at the time of publication. Just as the ethnic philosophy seemed to be different in more recent texts, so did coverage of topics dealing with women. More recent books seemed to make an effort to portray women in nontraditional roles and to point out their accomplishments. An observation which all reviewers found very interesting concerns the fact that Mrs. Ella Grasso was mentioned in five different recently published books; but in each case she was identified as the first woman to become a governor in her own right, and was not identified as an Italian- American. It appeared that the current emphasis on women and their achievements overshadowed the concern with ethnic pluralism. In fact it was not unusual to find extensive passages in the textbooks devoted to minority groups such as Blacks, Native Americans, Hispanics, and women, with little or no mention of nationality groups as also minorities. It seemed to the readers that members of nationality groups that did not look different, physically, from the white majority population were not

to be treated as current minority groups.

The review of as large a representative sample of American social studies textbooks as the 320 that were content analyzed most certainly confirms the adage that each generation re-writes history in its own terms. A most salient feature of the texts published in the last decade or so is the degree to which various "rights movements" of these recent years have influenced the content and treatment of earlier, as well as current, periods of American history. The effect is clearly visible in the increase of sheer numbers of pages devoted to Black, Hispanic, or Native Americans and women in the more recent books. Glazer and Ueda (1983) documented this development in their study based on six major American History texts. They went on to analyze the character of the treatment of these minority groups, and questioned the emergence of the tendency to equate being victimized with being invariably faultless; of excessively excoriating the misdeeds of the presumedly dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestants; and of the possible failure to adequately notice some of the praiseworthy accomplishments of American society as a whole by paying too much heed to the acceptance of various ethnic groups and their social economic and political progress as separate entities.

It is useful to add that a considerable part of the developments noted by Glazer and Ueda may be attributed to activities initiated by the groups in the "rights movements" themselves. In general, these groups appear to have selected education as one of the arenas for effecting social reforms to right the wrongs of the past. Specific organizations, such as the Council on Interracial Books for Children, and special committees working under the auspices of significant organizations like the Educational Testing Service, have been active in setting forth guidelines as to what is to be covered in texts and how it is to be covered. (Guidelines for Selecting Bias-Free Textbooks and Story Books, or Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks, both published by the Council of Interracial Books for Children). It is not uncommon to find in such guidelines statements such as "Blacks should evaluate the material on Blacks, women should evaluate the material on women." Publishers seem to have been responsive to the social pressures of what has been referred to as minority group affiliates or perhaps to the political and economic concerns implied by them. The same kind of responsiveness, but to a much lesser degree, to the various ethnic groups was already noted. However, the qualitative observations concerning the treatment of "minorities" versus the "ethnic nationality groups" reveal some important differences.

Without entering into a technical discussion of what may constitute a primary document in history, one might accept that the range of documentation may extend from what might be called "obscure," to "mainstream of historical scholarship." For example some of the documentation in the resource books on Italian-Americans had items such as pictures and letters from private collections which might or might not be appropriately included in a textbook depending upon whether they were considered important by some group of historians. Other documentations were derived from indisputable historiography. Although neither type of documentation was well covered in textbooks, as was discussed earlier, given the extensiveness of existing materials one would have to show preference for the less obscure documentation.

The recent treatment of "minority groups" included new references to such primary sources as letters, pictures or other documents secured from highly private sources and families. In the judgment of the reviewers some of these were very similar to the more obscure documentations found in the resource books concerning the Italian-Americans. Their inclusion in the

treatment of minorities when very little of any kind of documentation was included in the treatment of ethnic groups of different nationalities raised some questions in the minds of the researchers.

Another difference was found to exist in the means by which the content was sometimes communicated. Blacks and Native Americans as well as women are easy to portray pictorially. Although it is more difficult to identify Hispanics pictorially, some Latin American nationalities are still more readily identifiable than Italians or Poles or modern Turks. Therefore it appeared that texts for the earlier grades could present more content about some "minority groups" than they could about some specific ethnic Americans of European descent.

In sum, despite some potent developments and changes in the content of social studies texts in recent years, Italian-Americans, as well as other South European Americans, did not emerge as a bona fide minority on a paar with the minorities which have physically recognizable characteristics. The treatment of Italian-American ethnicity as a subgroup in the United States does not seem to have been significantly affected in the same way as the minority groups except in the effort to avoid negatively evaluated information about it.

CHAPTER IV: IMPLICATIONS OF TEXTBOOKS' TREATMENT OF ETHNICITY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL, THE SCHOOL AND THE PUBLISHERS.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL.

The whole educational enterprise has as its target the individual student. What the child learns from reading a textbook, and how the text influences the feelings, attitudes, perception, and thinking of the child are questions that are of concern. All children develop through stages of establishing their identity as they move toward adulthood. The development of identity is multifaceted and includes defining of personal boundaries, emotional maturation, establisment of social and ethnic affiliations and the differentiation of self from the significant others. Although the textbook may be one relatively small contributor to the individual's education and development, one cannot dispute that the messages it communicates will have some impact on the child's view of himself and of his environment.

Most textbooks seem to structure and sequence subject matter in a manner congruent with the developmental stages through which the child is expected to progress in ego development. The textbooks that were content analyzed followed the structure of the "expanding circles" in sequencing the subject matter. This sequence corresponds to the stage theories advanced by such psychologists as Freud, Loevinger, Piaget or Kohlberg in the way it moves from the child's egocentric awareness of the self outward to focusing on the child's relation with immediate and distant environmental factors and interactions. (For a summary of stages in ego development see Loevinger's tabular presentation of "Some Milestones of Ego Development"). For example Holt, Rhinehart and Winston's Social Studies textbooks are titled: ME (for K), PEOPLE (for gr.1), NEIGHBORHOODS (Gr. 2), COMMUNITIES (Gr.3), OUR REGION (Gr.4), OUR HISTORY (Gr 5), and OUR WORLD (Gr 6). Another example is found in the treatment of the identity theme at different grade levels of the Scott Foresman Social Studies Series which is described in the following manner: "Each individual has a unique combination of talents, abilities, interests, and physical characteristics (K-1). Groups such as neighborhoods and communities also have identities (2-3). The unique customs, language, and history of a culture give it identity (4-5). The identity of a nation is revealed through its history (Gr. 6)." Whether or not the structure of the expanding circles accurately represents and is valid for all children as they develop, the textbooks at least uniformly demonstrate a recognition of the need to consider these developmental stages.

Another observation that emerged from the content analysis involves the variations among the textbooks with regard to their ethnic philosophy. Two main viewpoints were identified with regard to developing or maintaining ethnic identity in a pluralistic society. One philosophy treated the nation as the "melting pot" where the different ethnic identities fused into one American identity, the other treated America as the "salad bowl," where individual ethnicities could be identified separately and the cumulative total constituted a multicultural nation. Some textbooks adhered to one or the other of these viewpoints quite explicitly, others professed neutrality giving credence to both views, and still others appeared to have chosen a viewpoint without making it explicit. Given this diversity in the treatment of ethnicity, one cannot help raise the question as to what impact each view, or the diversity of views, might have on the development of the child's own ethnic identity.

The school is not the only place where children acquire information relevant to defining their place in society and dominant culture. Personal experiences with peers and family, the messages communicated by the media, are also contributing factors to the child's identity formation. Whether a child comes from a family of assimilationist or separationist attitudes, whether he/she lives in a ghetto or an integrated suburb, whether he/she has been a target of ethnic prejudice or hostility, how many generations his/her family has been in America, or what TV programs he/she has been influenced by may all play a role in determining (a) whether the textbook will be viewed as confirming other experiences, and (b) the child's perception and interpretation of the discrepancies in the perceived messages.

Clearly, different students will respond differently to the diverse messages being communicated. Some may be able to analyze the differences, cull from them a personal viewpoint and smoothly develop one or another type of ethnic identity. Others may get very confused by the diversities and discrepancies never developing an explicit ethnic identity, still others may get rigidified or arrested at a stage of development and develop a mistrust of most of the sources which are intended to contribute to their development.

Perhaps the stated goal of social studies textbooks "to help pupils develop constructive values and attitudes pertaining to people, situations, ideas, and phenomena," accounts in part for the tendency to omit certain "facts" that may develop negative feelings toward specific ethnic or minority groups. The wide omission of information with negative connotations which was observed in the content-analysis raises some additional questions concerning the impact of the textbooks on the child's development of personal and ethnic identity. When there is a systematic distortion in the educational process, the child is likely to perceive a deception, whether such perception occurs consciously or subconsciously. Often there are noble motives for deceiving children, both at home and at school.

> "Children are often deceived with the fewest qualms. They, more than all others need care, support, protection. To shield them, not only from brutal speech and frightening news, but from apprehension and pain, -- to soften and embellish and disguise -- is as natural as to shelter them from harsh weather. Because they are more vulnerable and more impressionable than adults, they cannot always cope with what they hear. Their efforts, however rudimentary, need encouragement and concern, rather than objective evaluation. Unvarnished facts, thoughtlessly or maliciously conveyed, can hurt them, even warp them, render them callous in self-defense." (Bok,1979, p.217).

Adults within and outside the educational establishment do not deceive children in order to harm them. On the contrary, children are typically deceived "for their own good." Nevertheless, such deception has its costs.

> "A danger arises whenever those who deal with children fall into the familiar trap of confusing `truth'with `truthfulness.' It may lead them to confuse fiction and jokes and all that departs from fact with lying. And so they may lose track of what it means to respect children enough to be honest with them. To lie to children then comes to seem much like telling stories to them or like sharing their leaps between fact and fancy. Such confusion fails to recognize the fact that fiction does not intend to mislead, that it calls for what Coleridge called, `a willing suspension of disbelief;' which is precisely what is absent in ordinary deception." (Bok, 1978,

p.218).

Contemporary ethnic education may be deceiving children by using texts that neither address the realities of students' lives and experiences, nor reflect historical reality. Schools provide an "official" version of ethnic relations and the writing on the washroom walls provides the reality of the student's experience.

In ethnic education, the curricular thrust has been toward a bland, noncontroversial presentation of virtues of all groups, and OMISSION of historically accurate, but negative, aspects of various ethnic groups. For example, common knowledge as well as empirical studies of mass media show that there are many negative stereotypes associated with Italian Americans in the popular culture. Avoiding controversy concerning ethnic groups runs counter to both students' personal experiences and their perception of ethnic stereotypes in the larger world outside the classroom. This dissonance resonates with many children. The obvious avoidance of problems has a counterpart in the family setting. In many families, including Italian American families, the "known secrets" may take the form of shameful knowledge shared but carefully avoided by all. The very care taken to avoid confronting some disagreable information tends to confirm its truth, and may create internal dilemmas for the developing child. To bring the truth out into the open in some public forum may be a better way of helping the child develop adequate strategies in coping with reality than allowing an illusion to redefine reality.

Barzini notes that, "Most of [the Italians] are the victims of ... confusing reality with the representation of reality." (1981, p 251). The phenomenon that Barzini has addressed may be becoming commonplace in our own society as the distinctions between reality, such as it is, and its representation by well meaning people becomes increasingly blurred in everyday life. Many college professors or school teachers have noted in class discussions of some subject-related principles that students give examples drawn from fictional events on television or film rather than "real life." President Reagan has told many stories that were wholly fictional as if they were fact. (Green and MacColl, 1983). When investigation revealed these stories to have no substantive basis in fact, few people seemed very disturbed at either the event or its implications. So too, "official truth" need not be at all factual-- in the sense that most scientist or historians will define facts. Yet one of the obligations in educating youth is to develop the power to discriminate between fact and fiction,or reality and its representation. Such discrimination is as fundamental to education as it is to mature, rational living.

Perhaps writers distort reality with the hope that by selecting only positive achievements, eliminating controversial issues, and presenting a romantic view of ethnicity, future problems and conflicts might be eliminated, thus creating a new and better reality. The editorial selection process may well have reached the point of outright deception. If so, the object of discrimination, our multicultural history, has become distorted by our values and good intentions. Officially sanctioned views of ethnic history are, for the most part, sanitized presentations. As light is bent by powerful gravitational fields, history can be distorted by deeply held values.

The role of the textbook in the development of the child's personal or ethnic identity must be examined carefully, and the consequences of seemingly innocent distortions must be investigated. It may be easy to dismiss the problem by rationalizing that textbooks constitute only one, and perhaps a

minor, source contributing to the development of the individual. Even if such rationalization could be justified on some grounds, allowing the problem to continue without attempting to investigate and correct it has to be considered highly irresponsible.

In the context of the school, which is the stage for the curriculum to unfold, and the primary agency through which the larger culture transmits official truth, the child still needs to develop an answer to the question, "How am I like or different from others?" All children eventually make the distinction between themselves and significant others and experience the difficulties attendant upon that complex process of psychological maturation. However, the child, who has been reared in a family that has its origins outside the power-holding culture, experiences additional difficulties contingent on psychological, economic, and political trends of the times. The inclusion of ethnic education in the American curriculum is intended to aid in overcoming some of these difficulties as well as providing some sound basis on which a child may come to understand his/her place in America's collective history and culture. But the task is very complex, perhaps too complex, for public education. It involves powerful feelings, honesty in accepting and coping with great controversy, and strong leadership on the part of educators.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLS.

Most of our educational enterprise and its associated apparatus including curricula, methods, textbooks, is directed toward transmitting and inculcating knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and behaviors required by our culture. The individual is expected to become a useful and constructive member of that culture, less likely to become a ward of the state, and more likely to expand upon and transmit, in turn, the core of our beliefs. LEARNING what the school has to transmit is the objective on which the school must focus, and TEACHING through the appropriate utilization of the available apparatus constitutes the means of achieving the desired objective. In analyzing the role of the school in ethnic education, both learning and teaching must be countenanced as components of the transmission process.

Learning involves complex cognitive discriminations. Each discrimination task involves three elements each of which is subject to some degree of control by the school:

1. The agent who performs the cognitive discrimination task;
2. The object or what is being discriminated from other objects;
3. The means by which discriminations are made.

The learner should be the primary agent of the discrimination task. One of the major differences between indoctrination and education involves who makes the basic discriminations in the learning situation. When teachers assume too high a degree of control, learners necessarily abdicate to the teachers the very qualities that ought to be encouraged in students: independence of mind, analytical skills, judgment and evaluation employing multiple sets of criteria; indeed, all of the higher order cognitive processes that are inherent in problem-solving skills and that play a major role in learning as a process of Piagetian assimilation. When learners are encouraged to verify for themselves material presented to them as "facts" or to apply their own analytic skills to predigested material, much excitement can be generated and remarkable amount of learning can take place.

The teacher has a definite choice between allowing the student to

become the agent of such learning, and presenting the material to be learned essentially by rote. In the former case the textbook may be used as one source to be examined, and complemented by other primary and secondary sources of knowledge. In the latter case, the textbook defines the curriculum which needs to be "covered" within a certain period of time.

In a great deal of social studies teaching the learner is NOT encouraged to make discriminations that might fundamentally challenge the foundation upon which instruction is based. Allowing children the luxury of such challenge may be viewed as poor educational practice without the proper amount of guidance in the child's progress. To be sure, there must be some degree of exogenous control exercised in matters of curriculum and instruction. The significant issues appear to involve the extent, focus, and type of control exercised, as well as who serves as the agent of the discrimination process. As teachers themselves become more cognizant of the limitations of textbooks in defining curricula, they are likely to provide the type of guidance for children to become the agents of discrimination and exercise their higher order cognitive skills in the process of learning. Thus, the teachers need to model the learning objectives in their own utilization of textbook material. To provide the guidance children need, the teachers should become sophisticated in placing textbooks in their proper perspective, and judging their strengths and weaknesses as tools of LEARNING, not of INSTRUCTION. For, to the degree the content of a textbook constitutes, only partially, the OBJECT of discrimination in a learning task, the teacher must have the knowledge and ability to supplement it and to allow the child to make the necessary discriminations.

The objects of discrimination are controlled by curricular content. The content analysis reported in this volume provided an excellent illustration of how educational values interact with information so as to produce a rather distorted picture of an ethnic group. How a student's trust in the content to be learned may be eroded, and how ignorant cynicism rather than intellectual scepticism may be developed have already been discussed. What then is the role of the school with regard to curricular content in general, and the content of textbooks in particular? Is there a process by which schools can meet the curricular requirements established by the State, explore and select curricular content available in textbooks and various other resources, and also allow the learner to develop the desired strategies of acting upon such content as the object of discrimination in a learning task? Perhaps the answer lies in the schools exercising the same kind of discrimination processes in selecting curricula and texts as they hope to bring about in the students they educate.

Where do textbook "facts" come from? They appear to differ from "facts" as understood and published by scholars and scientists, in both the degree of comprehensiveness and the amount of contextual or value-related distortions.

Textbooks have undergone some significant changes over the past two decades: "dumbing down"-- writing at a very low level of complexity and making simple unsupported assertions -- is one change. (Bridgmen, 1984). This practice precludes the very possibility of treating genuine complexity in intergroup relations or in historical explanations of observable social phenomena.

Another change is functionally related to changes in the social attitudes of the time. The value of being Black or a woman, or an immigrant is treated very differently by the same author and textbook series published in the fifties and in the eighties. The passage below is quoted from OUR COUNTRY

by Beebe, Hanna, and McClure, published by Laidlaw Brothers in 1952 as part of their social studies series titled OUR DEVELOPING CIVILIZATION.

> "At the time of the Revolutionary War there were slaves in all the states. But slaves were not very useful in the North so slavery gradually died out. Slaves could not be taught to run machines or build ships. They could not learn to do many different tasks on a Northern farm. Negro slaves from the hot climate of Africa or the West Indies did not like the cold winters of the North. And so, since slaves were not very useful in the North, it was easy to do away with them in this part of the country.
> In the South many families lived on large plantations. Usually the southern planters grew only one important crop. ... It was not hard to teach the slaves to do the work of growing a single crop. White men found it hard to work in the hot southern sun, while the Negroes found the climate exactly to their liking. As cotton growing became important more and more slaves were needed.
> ...
> The people who objected to slavery said many unkind and untrue things about the owners of slaves. In one way these stories were true. Slaves were sometimes sold and families were separated. Slaves who ran away were sometimes tracked down with dogs. But all these things were unusual. The stories told about the slave owners were untrue because people were led to believe that these terrible things took place every day all over the South. The truth was that most planters treated their slaves kindly and took a deep interest in their welfare. As a rule the slaves loved the people of the plantation and stood by them even after slavery was ended." (pp 257-260).

One need not discuss the accuracy of the above passage. Nor does one need to point out the looseness in the usage of the term, "truth," or the acceptance of unsubstantiated attributions to the Negroes. It may suffice to contrast this passage from a reputable textbook used in the fifties with a passage from the same publisher's textbook series used in the eighties.

> "Black slaves. By the early 1700's, black slaves were by far the greatest source of involuntary labor in the colonies. The first black people - twenty blacks were brought to Jamestown in 1619 - became indentured servants. Slowly, custom and law made distinctions between black servants and white servants. By the 1660 ies there were laws that made black servants slaves. And by 1770 every colony had some provision for slavery.
> There were several economic and social reasons for the growth of slavery. One economic factor was the plantation system. As the plantation system grew, so did the need for a steady, cheap labor supply. Indentured servants left the plantation when their contract was completed, and paying wages to a large number of workers was too costly. Planters viewed slavery as an answer to their problem.
> Another factor that helped the system of slavery to grow in the colonies was the ratial attitudes of the times. Europeans, and thus the colonists, were very ethnocentric. They viewed the white race as being superior to other races. Many Europeans saw Africans as inferior-- to the point of being less than human. With this view, few whites questioned the practice of having black servants serve vita durante- for life.
> Slaves were a source of labor throughout the colonies. The small farms of the North were not suited for slave labor. Therefore the

> slaves in the North tended to be mainly household servants or city workers with the hardest and lowest jobs.
> ...Even so, there were blacks -- both free and slave -- who contributed to medicine, science, and the arts. But the main contribution of blacks was their labor, which went into building the colonies and the economy.

The difference in tone and in what is considered truth thirty years later undoubtedly shows the vulnerability of social studies texts to the changes in society's attitudes towards minority groups. Although one cannot help think that the change reflects an attitude that is more desirable, more equitable, less insulting, more democratic, more humanistic, and more accepting of others, one must question the fate of changeable social attitudes determining scientific truths.

In a speech delivered at the first Whitney M.Young,Jr. Memorial Lecture at Columbia University, on October 24,1984, Franklin Thomas, President of the Ford Foundation, pointed out that the status of Blacks in America has changed considerably since 1954.

> "The changing status of American blacks over the last thirty years is recorded by a social accounting system that is not always up to the reality it attempts to portray. The record is therefore subject to competing interpretations. Disclaimers aside, the statistics tell a story whose validity, at least in broad outline, is generally accepted."(Thomas, 1984,p.16).

The importance of Thomas's observation and account of how Blacks have progressed, at first rapidly and later more slowly, in educational opportunity and attainment, in health, housing, job status, income, and electoral politics lies not only in the historical account and explanations he has provided, but also in his discrimination of fact from interpretation of fact. Adoption of anti-discrimination laws is a fact. Statistics are factual showing that Blacks in two parent families and with adequate schooling maintained fairly steady rates of progress up until the late 1970s, but Blacks from single parent households with inadequate schooling underwent a sharp descent in those indicators mentioned above. It is also a fact that since the 1970s, and even more in the 1980s, progress came to a halt for most segments of the Black population, including intact families. However, one may only interpret, since it is generally agreed, that the reasons for this reversal were a steep economic recession, cutbacks in social programs, and a slackening in the commitment to the enforcement of civil rights.

Such differentiation between fact and interpretation is rarely made or even valued by either the members of the minority groups or by members of the dominent culture. Treatment of facts within the context of interpretations can allow both sides routes for escaping the responsibilities implied by the facts. Politically, such a state of constant tension among self-interested groups may be considered healthy; but when it permeates the education of the young and allows the warping of potentially scientific minds through a confusion of fact and socially agreed upon fiction, the society runs the danger of allowing the best liers or story tellers to determine the fate of its people.

The school has a distinct responsibility not only in selecting curricular content that exposes the youngsters to facts, but also in guiding the child to differentiate between fact and interpretation, between events and

their implications, between empirically testable principles and theoretically posited explanations. In some ways the specific content of a textbook would matter very little if the teachers knew how to put that content to good use by allowing the children to assess its factual accuracy and interpretive fallacy. Such instruction would typically leave the discrimination of the object to the rightful agent of the discrimination, namely the learner.

The means for the discrimination must be found in those higher order cognitive processes characterized by questioning, analyzing, redefining, comparing, classifying, associating, criticizing, exploring, discovering, and reasoning -- in short, thinking. Acknowledging that individuals vary in their thinking abilities, the school must serve as the mediating agent to bring about the utilization, and often the improvement, of these thinking abilities as they apply to the task of learning. (Feuerstein, 1980). The teacher as a mediating agent has the responsibility to diagnose the child's level of cognitive proficiency,and instruct the child in cognitive strategies that can help make the necessary discriminations. Learning and thinking need to be treated each as furthering the other. They cannot be viewed as independent areas of concern which many psychologists have managed to keep separate. Even the most rudimentary rote learning explained through some kind of conditioning cannot take place without some degree of differentiation between stimuli, and certainly increased learning will contribute to the enrichment of thinking. In humans the two processes are highly interconnected, and the school which is one mediating agent for learning needs to accept the responsibility also for serving as a mediating agent for the application and improvement of thinking processes.

To be sure there are some known methods which lend themselves to improving the means for discrimination as this term was discussed above. Among these one would find the so-called "scientific method." It should be pointed out that THE scientific method may be no more than conveniently sequenced steps in logical and empirical inquiry processes. Depending upon the nature of the task or problem, alternative sequences of thinking processes might serve admirably. Thus, one need not always follow the scientific method to differentiate fact from fiction. There may be instances when sound deductive logic can be applied to achieve such differentiation. Since the purpose here is not to give a discourse on the methods of utilizing thinking processes, it should suffice to draw attention to the variations in cognitive strategies and to refer the reader to such sources as Reuven Feuerstein's INSTRUMENTAL ENRICHMENT (1980).

Given that learning is viewed as consisting of the agent, object and means of discrimination, and having described the responsibilities of the school and teachers in the use of textbooks as tools in helping the child learn and think, we need to turn to some practical ways in which schools might attempt to meet these responsibilities.

First, it is extremely important for school districts to be clear in their objectives, and in the methods which specific teachers use for achieving them. No two schools are the same: they serve different populations, they have teachers that differ in their instructional styles and methods, they are responsive to communities that differ in their expectations or degree of autonomy they allow their schools. Furthermore, even within a school system some of these components or characteristics change from year to year. The educational endeavor is highly dynamic and fluid despite the basic common values and objectives which all schools must, and do, share in educating the American youth. Schools, therefore, must periodically review, reexamine, and

redetermine their objectives and methods. Such continuous assessment and examination must include a careful review of the textbooks in use, how they are utilized, and what their effects may be in the school's achievement of its as well as the community's objectives. Many schools, and sometimes states, set up adoption committees to conduct such reviews, to modify curricula, and to improve on teaching methods. Such approaches are sometimes further improved by hiring experts to assist the work of these committees, or to provide in-service instruction to teachers to achieve the same end. These are approaches that can be fruitful provided the participants and the experts are on target and resourceful. State education officials have emphasized the importance of involving teachers in textbook selection. However, they have also agreed that teachers must have more time, training, and expertise to be effective selection-committee members. (Education Week, 3/28/84, p16).

Second, schools must expect their curriculum specialists to provide systematic analyses of a large number of available curricular materials so that selections may be based on data-based criteria and have sound rationale. Although many curriculum coordinators have invaluable experience with and exposure to a variety of materials, one cannot help wonder about how many actually conduct a systematic analysis of the match, or mismatch, of materials with the objectives and instructional styles of the users of those materials. It is not often that one will find a curriculum coordinator who has been taught, much less used, such a method as content analysis. While the schools have a responsibility to make rational and systematic choices, the teacher preparation institutions have a responsibility to prepare educators who can conduct systematic assessment of curricular materials and methods.

Third, schools must understand that publishers use very good methods of marketing their materials. It should be recognized that a sales presentation is a biased account of what a textbook has to offer. The conviction of the publisher's representative about the marvelous attributes of a textbook series should not be mistaken for scientific evidence of the material's worth. Nor should schools accept without examination that the marketed materials reflect the publisher's stated or perceived knowledge of societal and educational objectives. It is not uncommon for a content analysis to yield discrepancies between the stated objectives of texts, as may be found in their introduction to teachers' editions, and the actual objectives served by the content which the students read. For example, many books stress that they aim for children to learn inquiry skills; yet, few textbooks contain material for the children to achieve such an objective. The school has a responsibility to examine the correspondence between the publishers' claims and the actual content of the textbooks being selected.

No matter how carefully a textbook is selected, eventually the utilization will depend on the teacher. Publishers show their awareness of this caveat by preparing separate teachers' editions sometimes with extensive guidance for the teachers' use. Although these editions are undoubtedly very useful, they reflect an implicit assumption that both teachers and the students they instruct have fairly uniform characteristics. Teachers still need to make adjustments to the groups they instruct, and often are not provided the assistance they need for this purpose. Good teachers exhibit good judgment in when and how to use the textbook regardless of what the teachers' edition may say. Schools need to provide both the training and the flexibility for teachers to use such good judgment and to make the adjustments required to meet their students' needs. "State officials and researchers agreed teachers should participate in inservice training on how to use the textbooks that are chosen. 'Right now textbooks constitute a DE FACTO curriculum,' said Ramsay Selden, a

senior research associate with the National Commission on Excellence in Education.`The process should be turned around.'" (Education Week, 3/28/84,p16)

Schools have a responsibility to communicate their needs to the publishers rather than remain at the receiving end of publishers' determinations. It is not unusual to hear school personnel apologize for the textbook in use by pointing out that it was the best available. Some teachers may be found who do not use textbooks but make up their own curricular materials by pooling the best references from a variety of resources. Others may feel more secure if they can refer to a textbook. Rarely do teachers get a chance to communicate their dissatisfactions to the publishers through a concerted and systematic effort. Schools need to organize better to provide publishers with feedback that will improve the match between the texts and their particular needs.

At the forum, "Excellence in Our Schools: Making It Happen," the task force concerned with educational materials urged that all of those involved -- teachers, publishers, and adoption committees -- aggressively pursue improvement in this area. "Numerous speakers urged educators to use fewer textbooks and more `real'books, magazines, and newspapers. Not only are they more interesting than textbooks, but they improve comprehension by giving children additional background information, and they are a rich source of new words and ideas."... "Publishers too should rely less on readability formulas and pay more attention to the text structure and how it affects comprehension, the group advised. And teachers, who must deal with the consequences of others' decisions about textbook purchases, should tell publishers and adoption committees when they are not satisfied with the materials." (Education Week, March 28, 1984, p15).

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PUBLISHERS.

Publishers are in the business of producing books and other instructional materials that will have educational use, and consequently will be marketable. Such production must necessarily be economically feasable. For eaxmple, few publishers can afford to update their textbooks frequently enough to keep up with the information explosion in some subjects. Similarly, few publishers can realistically expect to have the variety of materials that will be suitable for differences in a given school system. The solution may, in fact, lie in the prolific number of texts intended for the same educational level, allowing different series to meet different needs expressed by the practitioners in the schools. Why, then, does a content-analysis show some passages in textbooks by different publishers to be exact replicas of each other? And why is the difference between an older and an updated version of the same book sometimes limited to only a few paragraphs or pages? Is the economic consideration to take priority over the educational? Can such a policy not erode the educational market to a point of eventually not depending on textbooks at all?

So far the educational establishment has not really examined textbooks carefully or systematically enough to discover the actual extent of their limitations. What used to be a passing criticism some time ago, is slowly becoming a more vocal complaint. Recent educational literature, and even politicians have started serious criticism of textbooks and educational materials. In March 1984 education officials from 22 states convened in Talahassee, Fla., to form a cartel for excellence that would pressure publishers into into improving instructional materials. It was reported that,

"according to recent studies 95% of a student's time in class is spent using some form of instructional materials, and that 70 to 75% of that time is spent with textbooks." (Education Week, March 28, 1984, p1). A joint policy statement- press release was issued on the first day of the conference stating that "California, Florida, and New York, which constitute more than 20% of the nation's $1-billion textbook market, had banded together to form a "multi-state consortium to create a market for more challenging and rigorous instructional materials.'" (Ibid.,p16). Governor Graham called on the publishers to raise their standards, and described many textbooks as "safe instead of challenging." (Ibid.,p16).

Criticisms and formation of political pressure groups as described are still in their beginning stages. Although the education establishment is beginning to recognize its political and economic strength, it is also trying to be fair to the publishers in accepting part of the blame. This trend was evident in the conference where the education officials maintained that the responsibility should be shared by all those who are involved in the production, selection, and use of textbooks. Representatives of the textbook industry appeared to agree with the shared responsibility. "Mr. Kendrick Noble, vice president of Paine, Webber, Mitchell and Hutchens Inc., a textbook analyst,...(pointed out that) the reduction in the standards of textbooks is occurring, because the marketplace is not buying higher-standard books. There exists a discrepancy between what educators say they want in instructional materials and what local and state selection committees purchase for classroom use." (Ibid., p 16).

While the debate continues it must be clearer to the publishers that there is growing and vocal criticism of their products, even if the criticisms may apply equally to the educational establishment. Since the economics will have a greater impact on publishers than on educators, the publishing industry is undoubtedly faced with a major potential problem. What then are some constructive approaches? If, in fact, discrepancies exist in what EVERYONE concerned says and does, what could publishers do that might be considered both educationally and fiscally responsible?

The concern for criteria to assure "good" textbooks is particularly important at a time when the quality of education has become a national issue. The report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) suggested that one way to stop mediocrity in the schools is to use textbooks that present "rigorous and challenging material clearly." The experience in Texas not only brought out the types of pressures placed on publishers by special interest groups, but also pointed to the vulnerability of publishers to surrender their control over the content of textbooks to such pressures. Each self-interest group, including Italian-Americans, Armenian-Americans, Texan creationists or victims of the halocaust could, in fact, dictate how much of content that is favorable to its own cause should be included in various textbook series. Textbook publishers may be particularly vulnerable to accusations of bias and distortion. But is omission of material that might prove offensive to one group or another the answer? Should the "balance" in presenting information merely mean somewhat equal amounts of content that each group will find unoffensive? This strategy may prove "safe" for the publishers vis a vis the interest groups. But what about the professional community with its values for truth and rigor?

The Association of American Publishers seems to be represented at most professional meetings where criticisms are directed to the publishers of textbooks. Publishers are not unaware of the kinds of dilemma before them. The

tensions among the interest groups, within the educational establishment, and among competing publishers themselves, are all matters that must be carefully considered. The Association has adopted a code of ethics for college publishers urging them to avoid any activity that may be construed as "a bribe, kickback, or excessive commission or fee," in their business dealings with colleges and universities (Chronicle of Higher Educ). It may be very worthwhile to prepare a code of publishing ethics and standards, comparable to the STANDARDS FOR TESTS prepared by the American Psychologial Association. Such a code might specify the criteria claimed to be missing for publishing textbooks. Hopefully, the Association would solicit wide input not only from the publishers, but also from scientists and substantive experts in various disciplines and from educators.

The central focus of any set of criteria for textbook content has to involve the factual and scientifically determinable aspects of the material to be included. Textbook publishers must take the responsibility of assuring the factual accuracy, rather than interpretive selection, of the content to be published in textbooks. Such effort would require using primary sources more often than secondary, providing subtantiable data rather than possible overgeneralizations, and an indication of fictionalized presentations when these are used for purposes of livening up the text for the reader. Where factual accuracy is not determinable, the responsibility should be to present what may be considered factual by diverse or opposing schools. The judgment of what may be "fact" must, thus, be left as a challenge to the reader rather than decided by the author(s) of the text.

The relevance of the material selected for inclusion to the body of knowledge that is available is akin to the problem of selecting a sample of test items having content validity to the population of possible items that would represent the material studied. As the content-analysis pointed out, the amount of material included on Italian- Americans was nowhere near commensurate with the amount of material available for inclusion. Certainly the content validity of material being included must be established by experts in the substantive area and not be left solely to the judgment of the author. A test publisher that did not consider the content validity of a test before publishing it might get away with it, but would not be recommended as a reputable publisher by most professional experts. Further, few test publishers would accept the sole judgment of the test's author as evidence of its content validity. If test publishers can be required to adhere to such rigorous standards, certainly textbook publishers can follow suit.

The empirical evidence concerning the content-validity of a textbook has rarely been used by publishing companies. Although several states, including New York, provide guidelines for reviewing texts and materials for school personnel to assess the cross-cultural content or the possible sexism or bias in textbooks, local districts do not have the expertise or the financial ability to conduct empirical studies such as the one reported in this volume. The publishers on the other hand behave like ostriches in danger which might prefer not to have the empirical assessment lest its results should raise some questions. Yet, the only recourse for publishers not to be vulnerable to pressures of self-interest groups, and to distortions of truth that might result from giving into them, is to have the empirical evidence concerning the rigor of their publications. Standards that might be developed by the Association of American Publishers might well specify that such empirical data be provided at the time of wide marketing and distribution of texts. Similarly, states or schools which select the texts should insist on selecting only those texts that meet such criteria. While the literature is full of validation

studies concerning published tests, and many reputable publishers will have a technical manual for the test report on validity data, one rarely finds such studies concerning textbooks. It seems high time for textbook publishers to be subject to criteria of empirical validation.

Textbook publishers must assume the responsibility of providing empirical evidence for the content-validity of the books they publish, or eventually face a problem of credibility. Systematic evaluation of textbooks as a requisite for their adoption and use in the schools seems to be quite overdue. As the educational profession becomes more and more scientifically minded and critical of the textbooks' role in educating the youth, only publishers which can meet the challenge of an increasingly more skeptical and demanding market will survive. Undoubtedly joint efforts between publishers and the educational research community need to be explored. Such professional organizations as the Association of American Publishers and the American Educational Research Association might consider cooperating in stimulating interest and in developing some standards and strategies for evaluating textbooks.